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# LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Bern, June 12, 1937

No. 5000

Subject: Parliamentary discussion of Swiss de jure recognition of Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

HWT ... I

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

JON 2 8 1937
DIVISION OF STATE

Sir:

Referring to my telegram No. 97 of December 24, 1936, regarding the action of the Swiss Federal Council on December 23 in recognizing, de jure, Italian sovereignty in Ethiopia, and to my despatch No. 4796 of February 4, 1937, quoting comments on the subject by Mr. Motta, I have the honor to report that the latter has again commented on the Swiss Government's position in this matter in a reply to socialist criticism of the Federal Council's action.

During a discussion on June 8 in the upper legislative chamber (Conseil des Etats) of the Political

Department's

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Department's annual report for 1936, a socialist member (Wenk, from Basel) proposed that the Federal Assembly record that "it regrets the de jure recognition of the sovereignty of Italy over Ethiopia".

Opposing this proposal, Mr. Motta stated that its acceptance would risk disturbing the "excellent relations between Switzerland and Italy"; and that, contrary to Mr. Wenk's belief, de jure recognition did not at all imply a moral judgment with respect to the conditions under which the conquest took place. Switzerland, he said:

"had no interest in making a subtle and inexistent distinction between the <u>de jure</u> recognition and recognition de facto. Nobody could imagine today how the facts could be changed without a new war and why, in these circumstances, should there be any equivocation or raising of unnecessary difficulties?"

Continuing, Mr. Motta said that the true policy of Switzerland in the League of Nations is to do everything possible to see that Italy does not leave the League and that Germany returns. He claimed that the "gesture" of the Federal Council in recognizing Italian sovereignty de jure on December 23, last, was perhaps one of the factors which might lead the Italian Government to resume its active rôle in Geneva.

Finally, he asked the chamber to reject the socialist proposal. It is a foregone conclusion that such action will be taken in connection with the chamber's formal approval of the Political Department's report.

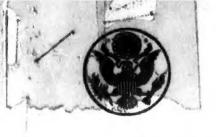
Respectfully yours, For the Minister:

File No. 715 DFB/mk

Quintuplicate

Donald F. Higelow, Secretary of Legation.

Copy to American Embassy, Rome



# EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ROME, June 17, 1937.

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No. 432

Subject: Italian Administration and Development of Ethiopia.



To the Field

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A C/C RECORDING DESK FILE - WHO

Sir:

The Honorable

The Secretary of State, Washington.

OFFICE OF THE ADVISER ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

JUL 7 - 1937

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

In continuation of the Embassy's despatch No. 371
of May 20, 1937, regarding the Italian administration and
development of Ethiopia, I have the honor to submit below
a digest of the available information which has been published here since May 20th with respect to Italian action
and plans for the Government of the conquered territory
Copies of reports on Ethiopia by the Military Attaché to
the Embassy are transmitted herewith.

#### Military and Political.

No military or political news of importance has been published recently. The press on May 28th reported that the "April 21st" Black Shirt Division was being rapidly demobilized ...

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demobilized and that, at their request 4,679 Black Shirts, including 58 officers and 121 non-commissioned officers, had already been given employment in Ethiopia.

An official communiqué published on June 10th states that Italian losses in mast Africa during the month of May were as follows:

Troops: killed in "police operations" 8 )

died of diseases and accidents 49 )

57

workmen: died of diseases and accidents 97

Rumors that the capital of the "Empire" would be transferred from Addis Ababa to another city on account of the unsuitable climate (Embassy's despatch No. 371 of May 20, 1937) were flatly denied in an official communiqué published on June 3rd.

The press under Addis Ababa date line of June 2nd announces that "in the name of the Viceroy of Ethiopia, the Governor of Galla Sidamo has forwarded the brevets conferring the title of Sultan on Abba Duda Abba Gifar and Abba Giobia Abba Duda. This recognition awards the efficacious work carried out by the two Sultans for the affirmation of Italian dominion over their friendly territories. At the same time it signifies the definite abandonment of the traditional system of honors based on Ethiopian titles, for which there is no longer any reason in Moslem territories."

The Abuna Cirillo (Metropolitan of the Ethiopian Coptic Church) who, it will be recalled, was rumored to have been shot for implication in the attempted assassination of Marshal Graziani (Embassy's despatch No. 336 of April 25, 1937), arrived in Rome in the beginning of June for the purpose, as the press stated, "of paying homage

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patches he appears to have been shown considerable attentions by officials of the Ministry of Italian Africa. On June 13th an official communiqué stated that he had been received by the Duce, "to whom he expressed his admiration at what he had seen in Italy during the past days and his gratitude for the hospitality of the Fascist Government," and on June 15th he was received in audience by the King.

On May 27th the press reprinted, without comment, a news despatch published in the ANGRIFF, Berlin, to the effect that it was rumored in Jerusalem that the Negus' son, who was in Palestine, was seeking conciliation with the Italian authorities and was willing to renounce all claims to the Ethiopian throne and refrain from all political activities, if permitted to return to Ethiopia. The Negus was said to have commanded his son to proceed to London immediately but his orders had been disobeyed.

## Industrial and Economic Development.

According to the press, the Vegetable Textile Fibre Company of Ethiopia (Embassy's despatch No. 233 of February 24, 1937), which has been conducting investigations in Ethiopia, has discovered that the "agave sisalana" may be profitably exploited for textile manufacturing purposes and is making arrangements for the production of this plant on a large scale.

During May several new missions were sent to Ethiopia for the purpose of studying the possibilities of developing the country. Among these was a zootechnic mission, which visited Arussi, Western Cercer, Harrar, and Giggiga. In the

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Giggiga district it selected a zone of about 10,000 hectares suitable for raising sheep. Another mission
discovered mica deposits in the Giggiga region, and,
according to reports, their exploitation will begin
in October. A third mission has reported that it has
found large supplies of oil bearing seeds and fruits
suitable for the manufacture of comestible oils. After
the rainy season a plant for this purpose will be built
at Harrar. A fourth mission visited the Harrar and
Cercer districts, where it is said to have found the
possibilities of growing a very fine grade of coffee
to be excellent. A fifth mission, sent by the Italian
Cotton Institute, is examining the territory near Addis
Ababa with a view to cultivating cotton.

On June 16th the press reported the arrival at Genoa from Massaua of the S.S. SEMIEN with the first shipment of Ethiopian cotton to reach Italy since the Italo-Abyssinian campaign. A commission of French cotton buyers came to Genoa to examine the product with a view to making contracts.

News despatches from Addis Ababa state that large deposits of lignite have been discovered in the Omo valley of the Uollamo region, including a deposit of unusually fine lignite 400 meters wide and a kilometer in length near the village of Ghindo and a second deposit of fine quality about the same size near the village of Agallo.

#### Labor.

An official communiqué published on June 2nd, states that "the Commissariat for Migration and Internal Coloni-

musea and Synemeters

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zation communicates the following figures referring to the movements of workers transferred to the Empire up to May 51st including specialists and chauffeurs: workers transferred, 188,252; workers repatriated, 73,524; workers deceased 1,196; workers present in Italian East Africa, 113,532." Another communiqué states that workers in Italian East Africa have sent over 200 million lire home to their families during May 1937, and almost two billion lire since January 1935. To these amounts must be added sums personally taken back to Italy by repatriated workers.

#### Finance.

The press under Addis Ababa date line of June 14th reports that by Viceregal decree of June 13th the Maria Teresa thaler may be changed into Italian lire at branches of the Bank of Italy and of Public Banks at the rate of 13.50 lire.

#### Bank of Rome.

A press despatch under Gimma date line reported that a branch of the Bank of Home was opened at Gimma on May 21st. In this connection it will be recalled that the Bank of Home on April 23rd opened branches at Gore and Dembi-Dollo (Embassy's despatch No. 336 of April 25, 1937).

#### Posts and Telegraphs.

The Administration of Posts and Telegraphs of Addis
Ababa on June 2nd announced that it had opened to the
public new post offices at Addis Ababa, Habama, Ualanchiti,
Metahara, Gaggi, and Sciano. It added that during the
month offices would also be inaugurated at Brabresit,
Debrasina, Oendaba, Fices, and Ghedo.

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Roads.

865 d. 154

The Italian Minister for Public Works, Signor Cobolli-Gigli, after an inspection trip of several months in Italian East Africa, returned to Rome on June 1st. third he was received by the Duce, to whom he gave a report on the progress of road-building in Ethiopia. According to an official communique, the Duce highly praised the work accomplished by the Minister and his assistants. Signor Cobolli-Gigli, in an interview with the press, stated that on May 1st there were 56,550 Italians and 84,000 Ethiopians engaged in road building in the conquered territory. He went on to say that 9,300,000 cubic meters had been excavated, 4,700,000 cubic meters had been filled in, and 446,000 cubic meters of masonry had been constructed. The roads which had been ballasted and gravelled covered an area of 9,700,000 square meters. He added that on June 30th, before the commencement of the heavy rains, 1,000 kilometers of road would be asphalted, 1,300 kilometers ballasted and gravelled, and 1,200 kilometers in a state of advanced progress. The Minister declared this would include an asphalted road from Massaua through Asmara and Decameré up to Amba Alagi and the fork of the road to Gondar, a little beyond Axum; and small roads from Addis Ababa to Addis Alem and from Addis Ababa to Gimma, as well as ballasted roads open to traffic, from Axum to Gondar and from Amba Alagi through Dessié to Addis Ababa. addition, a ninety-kilometer trail had been constructed beyond Macfud up to Debra Breban to ensure traffic during the rainy season. During the following year, he asserted, roads would be opened to traffic between Assab and Batie, Addis Ababa and Lekemti, beyond Addis Alem, and between

Addis Ababa and Gimma, exclusive of the small roads already completed.

#### Maritime Transportation.

The Ministry for Italian Africa on June 14th issued the following instructions regarding maritime transportation to Italian East Africa:

- "(1) All ships leaving national ports direct for ports in Eritrea and Somalia (except Government ships, those chartered by the State, those belonging to subsidized lines, and those belonging to the Banana Monopoly), must obtain a permit to depart.
- (2) All national ships, with the exception of those mentioned above, must obtain permission from the Ministry of Italian Africa to put in at Djibouti;
- (3) Shipment of merchandise to all the ports of Italian East Africa may be freely made with the exception of Assab, where embarkation may be made on ships authorized to put in as set forth in No. 1;
- (4) A permit from the Ministry of Italian
  Africa is necessary for the shipment from Italian
  ports of any kind of merchandise direct to Assab:
- (5) It is forbidden, pending new regulations, to ship from Italian ports any kind of merchandise destined to Italian East Africa, via Djibouti, and only as an exception may this be authorized by the Ministry of Italian Africa;
- (6) The shipment of explosive materials to all Eritrean ports is generally forbidden from April 20th to August 20th. Eventual exceptions must be authorized by the Ministry of Italian Africa."

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#### Foreign Missionaries.

With reference to the Embassy's confidential telegram No. 274 of June 13th, regarding the Italian Government's decision to allow no foreign missionaries to continue educational work in Ethiopia, a report on my representations regarding the American missionaries concerned is contained in the Embassy's despatch No. 433 of June 17, 1937.

The Italian press under London dateline reported that in reply to a question in the House of Commons on July 14th, Eden stated that he regretted to announce that, following prolonged negotiations with the Italian Government, the latter had informed the British Government that it would allow no foreign missionaries of any religion whatsoever to maintain schools in Ethiopia. Home had, however, let it be known that if British missionaries desired to devote themselves to humanitarian and not educational work in Ethiopia, it might consider requests to that end. Eden said that in view of this attitude of the Italian Government, the British Government would reserve the right to impose similar restrictions in the Empire.

# Italo-British Agreements relating to East Africa.

The Italo-British Agreements on grazing and watering rights of Somali tribes, and on transit traffic to and from Italian East Africa through the ports of Zeila and Berbera, concluded on January 28, 1937 (Embassy's despatch No. 194 of February 4, 1937) were ratified by the Italian Government on April 19, 1937. The texts of the Agreements, published in the Official GAZETTE of June 15, 1937, are contained in the Embassy's despatch No. 427 of June 16,1937.

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## Recognition of Italian Sovereignty over Ethiopia.

In continuation of my despatch No. 317 of April 14, 1937, regarding recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia, I have the honor to report the following additional information:

On May 28th the press under Vienna date line announced that "a resolution of the Council of Ministers today declares that with the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy Austrian consular jurisdiction in that territory terminated. Therefore the Council of Ministers has decided that the regulations regarding the jurisdiction over Austrian citizens in Ethiopia shall cease to be in force."

The press under Bern date line of June 10th announced that the Swiss Council of State had approved the de jure recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia. On June 15th newspapers reported that the Swiss National Council by a vote of 84 to 56 had rejected a motion to censure the Council of State for its de jure recognition.

On June 15th news despatches from Addis Ababa stated that Dr. Frike had assumed charge of the German Consulate General in the Ethiopian capital in place of Dr. Richter, who had been temporarily in charge.

It was also reported that the new French Consul General,
M. Louis Lavastre, had arrived in Addis Ababa.

Respectfully

William Phillips

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Enclosures ....



- 1. Army Establishment
  Military Establishment for Italian East Africa.
- 2. Mobilization General Troop Shipments and Repatriations.

# ENC DEURE No. 1 DESPATOR NO. 432

G-2 Report

AMERICAN MEDASST, BOWN, INALY.

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Action MAY 29 1937 Amb.

ITALY (Combat - Army)

Subject: Army Betablishment.

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#### Military Establishment for Italian Bast Africa.

Anis report supersedes Italy No. 15,589-6010.
Minister Lessona of the Ministry of Italian Africa made the following remarks before the Senate on May 22, 1937, concerning the

military situation in East Africa.

In answer to a statement made by Senator Bongiovanni that the substitution of a civil Government for a military government in it dian mast Africa had been too precipitate, Minister Leasona said that he did not share the same opinion. That is meant by military government? He asked. If by having such a government it is construed to mean that military problems outweigh the economic, civil and social problems and that the internal situation is such as to warrant a severe control by the military forces, then I can proclaim to the Seante that Italian must africa has no need for a military government. A civil government, and especially a Fascist one, does not signify an inactive government, and there can be no difference in the action carried out by troop commanders should the governor of a province be a civilian or a general.

Sthiopis has been proclaimed a pacified country and the resalning instances of raids by native bands cannot be considered rebellions, being due to ecomomic, not political motives, and the inherent instincts of some of the natives. Such raids are of habitual occurrence and were more frequent during the Negus' rule than at the present time. Otherwise everything is peaceful. The bonefits of this state of affairs is dready being felt by the increasing extent of the cultivation.

To return to a military government,-Lessons stated,- would be agrave political error which would be exploited by that part of the foreign press which seeks to deny the fact that the Empire has been pacified.

his distinction between the military and the civil furthermore is saits the acctrine of Pascism wherein every citizen is a soldier, capacitally as regards the administration in which all officials are also officers of the forces, he point of importance therefor is to have intelligent interpretors of the directives of the government, so they of the military or civilian organisation.

on. ..essons also confuted Lenator songiovanni's proposal that the alitary organisation of Italian Last africa be controlled by the inlatry it car, santaining the proposition that the native troops of the corritory should be controlled by the Linistry of Italian Last Africa Talen exercises the political control. Alitary problems of an international nature, as relate to Italian Last Africa in case of an Aropean conflict, apportain to the desertal Staff of the Lange.

imister account also spoke of the proposed military establishment for Italian mast frice as follows:

ine ficeroy will exercise command over the enougleroes, by a cold staff, which in general will consist of a Uniof and peputy uniof in staff; the various Inspectors of ena; the military commandant of deis pobal and the hiroctor of services.

There will also be five subsidiary "Troop Commands ", one "Troop Commands " being assigned to such Governorship. These " Commands " will control all troops in the territory of the governorships.

Italian troops will compose about one-third of the African force. Since November 1986 the division "Granatieri di Savoia " has been stationed in Addis Abeba as a powerful reserve under the control of the Viceroy.

The colonial force contemplated in the new organization totals: 2478 officers of various ranks of the Army and Militla;

1569 NOOS " " " " " " " "

21146 Italian soldiore " " " "

45270 native troops

12490 animals.

The recruitment of colonial troops is carried out throughout the territory of the Empire at various established centers of recruitment and the response has been such that not all can be accepted.

This loyal response was participated in by the scious and Amhara as well as other natives. Many have already been assigned to obsettiuted battalions, one of which took part in the Roman parede for the first naniversary of the Empire.

In discussion of the budget of the Ministry of Italian Africa in the Chamber of Deputies the detailed organization of the forces in East Africa was given as follows:

. . . . .

1 Houdquarters General Staff, including:

the Chim of Staff

the Deputy Chief of Staff

the Impostor of Colonial Infuntry

the Artillery Inspector

the Engineer Inspector

the Black Shirt Units Inspector

the commander of the Addis Abeba garrison

a Superior Directory of Services, controllings

l artillery directory

1 engineer directory

1 motor transport directory

1 medical directory

1 commissary directory

l veterinary directory

1 administrative inspectorate

I spiritual welfare inspectorate

I superior map-making effice

#### Troops :

a) Mational (Italian)

- l national division " Granatieri di Savoia " composed ef:
  - I headquarters commaded by a division general of the Army
  - 2 Camedier infantry regiments (4th and 5th) composed of 1 Mg. 1 accompanying battery, 3 battalions and 1 depot

I machine gan battaliem

- 1 artillery regiment, composed of 1 Hq. 2 pack groups and 1 depot
- 2 engineer companies
- l medical company
- l subsistence section
- I group of Black thirts of 4 motorised battalions
- 9 motorised Black Shirt machine gan battalions (each composed of 2 kg Cos, 1 Co armoved curs, 1 Co feet tanks)

G-2 Report

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- 4 motorised Black Shirt artillery groups
- 4 Black Shirt unti-airgraft groups
- 1 Black thirt group of 8 fixed batteries 2 Black Shirt special engineer regiment, composed of 1 H), A battaliams, I railway amapany and I depot

b) <u>delenial (Natives)</u>
16 columnal brigades commanded by brigade generals and colonelscompleting a total of: (Note: each brigade colonelscompleting a total of: (Note: each brigade of note; and 1 group of has 4 km of inf, or 5 km of inf, and 1 group of Squadrens of Core, and Arty, Impre and Hed, units) 58 km of infantry (5 rifle empantes and 1 heavy m'gan to each)

5 groups of squadrens of covalry

16 artillery groups (each of 5 batteries of 68/17 ma howiteers and 2 batteries of 31 mm mortage )

16 mixed companion of engineers

16 field dispensaries

- 2 battalions of colonial infantry
- 6 Dabat bands of Italian Secoliland
- I group of squadrens of colonial cavalry
- 7 colonial emmoner companies (to man fixed batteries at various localities)

Te LATOCO

The following are attached to wach " Troop Command " Hq and to the He of the Addis Abeba garrisons

- l artillery office with depote and laboratories
- 1 office of engineer works with depots and laboratories
- I medical office with depot
- I commissary office with depot
- l veterinary office
- l military tribunal
- l map making office

hotor Transport Service

l special meter transport groupment of Black thirts composed of 1 Mar 3 motor transport groups and 1 depot with storehouses and regain Jia Ju;

I mixed motor transport section of the Army, with repair shop, for each troop headquarters.

orritorial organisations

I territorial depot with each governorship and with the Hq of the duis bebs garrison:

I movilization or ater with depot for each colonial buttalion or corresponding unit.

he howe on, animation is a strong been largely effected. The " granution di savoia " division has already been cent to sest dries no vell as the slook shirt buttalions or the organization, all colonial units neve been constituted, and a good part of the astropolitan units as well, pursuanel having been obtained by voluntary enlistment of Italians and natives. . plications for volunteer service exceeded the demand.

the native origines are located in permanent garrisons or military posts, the Black dirt battalions are distributed throughout the ampire where needed, the troops are officered by officers of the Italian segular .rmy, active or reserve. No officers will be specially selected from

among those best equipped for colonial service. They will be carried on a colonial specialty list in the Bar Ministry and rotated so that they serve normally 5 years in the colonies and 2 in Italy.

The Italian workers now in East Africa and those about to be sent are being expanised into Pascist militia formations. A special bareon has been set up in the Ministry of Italian Africa for the organization and operation of labor militia. Each of the 5 territorial governments will have a Logion Nq. Each Legion will be divided into Cohorts of 3,000 militia workers. Officers for duty with the Legion and Cohort Hq will come from the Pascist militia. Officers, Moss and Minok Shirts of the labor organizations will be selected from among the workers who have the requisite ability and military experience. The period of service in these labor militia organizations will correspond to the length of the labor contract. Military training will be conducted between working hours. All personnel will be armed and equipped as militia. These labor troops will be considered as forming part of the armed forces of the State.

Comments

Report Italy # 16,004-6600, May 14, 1937, specified 175,000 troops (exclusive of bast African natives) in East Africa as of May 10, 1937. Times that date approximately 5,000 troops have been repatriated leaving about 170,000 man still them. Ato date, It is estimated that this number of men comprises the following:

Italian troops of Colonial Carrison as above	25,000
Troops of R. Asronautica	13,000
Navy (Port personnel)	5,000
Porestry, Roud and Port Militias	2,000
Special troops and services	47,000
Division " Libya "	9,000
Division " Lughi "	9,000
Black Shirt troops (*)	60,000
	170,000

(") note: It is believed that these troops included the " 21st of spril" and "Tevers " divisions and possibly 1 other division and a number of groups of battalians. It has been reported that 30,000 of these troops will be repatriated during the month of June, including the " 21st of April" division and probably the " Tevers " division and the other division (more unknown) mentioned above.

Col. F.A. USA Military Attaché



THE FOREIGN SERVICE

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DEPARTMENT OF ST

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Affect

No. 446

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AMERICAN EMBASSY ROME, June 24, 1937.

Subject: Measures conderning Italian East Africa, approved by the Council of Ministers on

June 21, 1937;

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BUISTANT SECRETARY

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The Honorable

The Secretary of State, Washington.



With reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 452

June 17, 1937, on the Italian administration and development of Ethiopia, I have the honor to inform the

Department that the Council of Ministers at its meeting on June 21, 1937, approved decree-laws providing for the following matters:

(1) An annual contribution of one billion lire by the Government to balance the Italian East Africa budget.

An appropriation of 12 billion lire for a sixyear public works program in East Africa, distributed as follows:

#### Million lire

7,730	roads
670	port projects
300	hydraulic works, power plants
550	sanitary projects
100	mines
1,892.9	building
800	farm colonization, land reclama- tion, reforestation
60	telegraph, telephone, radio.
493	military works.

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- (2) An additional 3 billion lire, spread over three fiscal years beginning with the current fiscal year, for the completion of road projects, now well under way, being built by the governmental Road Building Organization.
- (3) The creation of the Italian East Africa Transport Company to (1) carry passengers and goods for the account of the Government, and (2) operate regular automobile lines and mail service along the main roads. The company is a mixed concern, its private share capital completing the contribution made by the government in the form of vehicles and "impianti" (which term would cover stations, garages. machine shops, etc.).
- (4) Regulations on importation, processing, storage, and distribution of mineral oils and fuels in Italian East Africa.
- (5) Creation of an Autonomous Institute for Economic and Popular Houses in Italian East Africa. It is reported that this organization has already received from various corporations in Italy the sum of 60 million lire to finance its first projects.
- (6) Organization of agricultural services in Italian Africe.

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- (7) Measures to develop, control, and exploit cotton production in Italian Africa.
- (8) Organization of a meteorological office at Addis
  Ababa with branches at Asmara, Mogadiscio, Gondar, Harrar,
  and Gimma.
- (9) Institution of Colonial Councils and Offices of Corporative Economy in Italian East Africa.
- (10) Regulations for the protection of fauna and flora in Italian East Africa.
- (11) Regulations on the concession of amnesty in Italian East Africa.
- (12) Cession to the Order of Malta of territory in Selaclaca (Tigrai) for a leprosy hospital and laboratory.
- (13) Fiscal exemptions in Italian East Africa for companies operating commercial air lines.
- (14) Reorganization of the offices in the Ministry for Italian Africa on the basis of subjects instead of, as hitherto, on the basis of geographical districts.
- (15) Provision that after June 30th the present regulations on compensation of the civil and military personnel in Italian East Africa will cease to be in force. The purpose of the new regulation is to make salaries the same throughout the territory, but to grant special indemnities to employees in districts characterized by particularly difficult conditions.
  - (16) The establishment of a Section of the Court of

Audits at Addis Ababa with jurisdiction over all Italian East Africa. "Delegations" of the Court are also set up at Addis Ababa, Asmara, Mogadiscio, Gondar, Harrar, and Gimma.

(17) The transformation of the present Italian colonial Agricultural Institute of Florence into the "Royal Agronomics Institute for Italian Africa." It becomes the scientific and technical organization of the Ministry of Italian Africa for farm research and experimentation, will give specialized training courses for agricultural employees in the technical lists, and will collect and coordinate all data referring to the agricultural development of Italian Africa in so far as these are of interest to technical and scientific research.

At its meeting on June 23rd, the Council of Ministers approved a decree-law granting total customs exemption for all merchandise originating in and imported from Italian East Africa, with the exception of coffee.

Fuller information on the foregoing decrees will be transmitted to the Department upon their publication in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE.

Hespectfully your

William Phillips



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JUL 15 1937

LEGATION OF THEMERIGAN HEPUBLICS
UNITED STATES OF DAMERICAN OF STATE

Viudad Trujillo, Santo Domingo, D. R.,

July 9, 1937.

No. 3937.

Subject: Postponement of Implied Recognition by
Dominican Government of the Italian Annexation of Ethiopia; Dismissal by President Trujillo of Dominican Minister to

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

OF STATE

CONDITIONTAL.

JUL 2 0 1937

DIVISION OF A 189

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

The Henorable

Referring to the Legation's despatch No. 3891 of
June 1, 1937, reporting that Mr. Amadeo Barletta, titular
Italian Consul here, had informed the Legation that despite
the Dominican Government's promise to accredit its Minister to Italy, Señor Augusto Chottín, to the King of Italy
and Emperor of Abyssinia, the Minister had been accredited
only to the King of Italy, and that he had made renewed
representations to the Dominican Government on the subject,
I have the honor to enclose, for the Department's information,

tion, a clipping from yesterday's newspaper LISTIN DIARIO purporting to carry the text of Decree No. 1933, signed by President Trujillo on July 3, 1937, summarily cancelling his former Decree No. 1788, of January 2, 1937, appointing Señor Augusto Chottín as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Italy. To date no successor has been named to fill the vacancy caused by Minister Chottín's dismissal.

It is reported that Senor Chottin is now in Washington and, in view of his abrupt dismissal as Minister to Italy and his reported intention not to return to the Dominican Republic, it would appear that he has now joined the ranks of the "voluntary exiles" from the Dominican Republic.

As the Department is aware, Senor Chottin is the half-brother (same father) of Major General José Garcia, Secretary of State for the Interior, Police, War and Marine, and a brother-in-law of President Trujillo. It is understood that Senor Chottin incurred the enmity of President Trujillo shortly before his appointment as Minister to Italy and it is believed in well informed circles that Senor Chottin's appointment as Minister to Italy was an excuse seized upon by President Trujillo to get Chottin out of the country without openly banishing him.

July 17 h. R. Respectfully yours,

Franklin B. Atwood,

Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

One, as stated.

FBA/VIII

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# Importante Decreto del Honorable Señor Presidente de la Rep

Por medio del cual deroga el Ducreto No. 1738 que designa a Sr. Augusto Chottin, EE. y M. P. en Italia.

GENERALISIMO RAFAEL LEONIDAS TRUJILLO MOLINA.

Presidente de la República Dominicana. BENEFACTOR DE LA PATRIA.

NUMERO 1933.

11110

1 1 7

En virtud de las etribuciones que me confiere la Constitución del Estado,

DECRETO:

Unico:--Queda derogado el Decreto Núm. 1788, del 2 de enero de 1937, que designa al señor Augusto Chottin Enviado Extraordinario y Ministro Plenipotenciario en Italia.

DADO en la Ciudad de San Cristóbal, Provincia Trujillo, residencia temporal del Pode. Ejecutivo, a los tres días del men de julio del mil novecientos treintisiete, año 940. de la Independencia y 740. de la Restauración.

RAFAEL L. TRUJILLO.

### DOCUMENT FILE

#### NOTE

	Tel. #329,6pm
FROM Italy (Phillips	) DATED July 14, 1937.

REGARDING:

Should it be considered that article 20 to the Treaty being negotiated with Italy which extends the provisions of the treaty to include all territories over which the parties respectively claim and exercise dominion as sovereign may give rise to questions involving recognition; might it not be possible to omit this article from the present treaty and at some subsequent date conclude a separate agreement relating to the colonies and dominions?

MA
This telogram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (B)

Rome
Dated July 14, 1937
Rec'd 3:40 p. m.

Socretary of State

Washington

329, July 14, 6 p. m.

In the hope that the negotiations for the treaty of friendship and commerce are nearing the point of successful conclusion, may it not be possible at the present time to give consideration to the two points with respect to which discussion has up to now been reserved for the reasons set (10.253, 334) forth in My 533, December 16, 6 p. m., namely, the preamble and article 20?

that both the United States and Italy signed the multilateral convention concluded at Montreux in May of this year for the abolition of capitulations in Egypt and I presume that in this connection no difficulty was raised if the title "King Emperor" was used in the designation of the Italian plenipotentiary. Furthermore, would there be any legal distinction between the acceptance by the United States Government of the credentials of the Italian Ambassador in Washington made out in the name of the King Emperor and the signature of a treaty which the American representative signs on behalf of the President and the Italian representative

10 7-36

MA -2- 329, July 14, 6 p. m., from Rome

on behalf of his?

Should it be considered that article 20 which extends the provisions of the treaty to include all territories over which the parties respectively claim and exercise dominion as sovereign may give rise to questions involving recognition; might it not be possible to omit this article from the present treaty and at some subsequent date conclude a separate agreement relating to the colonies and dominions?

I should appreciate the Department's preliminary views on the foregoing point for possible use in the event that the Foreign Office brings them up for discussion.

PHILLIPS

CSB

(1d.01

# DOCUMENT FILE

# NOTE

SEE	852.00/6068	FOR	Tel.	#345, noor	1
FROM	Italy	(Phillips ) DATE	o July	y 24, 1937	
TO		NAME		3-1187	979

#### REGARDING:

Summary of an editorial which Italian officials have pointed out as significant as coming from Museolini stating that two fictions are holding up and complicating the European situation; Mon-recognition of the Italian Empire in Ethiopia and non-recognition of belligerent rights to France, linking these two with the question of volunteers.

EU. NE

GRAY
Rome

Dated July 24, 1937 Rec'd 9:16 a.m.

Secretary of State
Washington

346, July 24, noon.

The following is a summary of an editorial in today's POPOLO D'IT'ALIA which Italian officials have pointed out as significant as coming from the pen of Mussolini:

Is Europe to perish wrapped in the shroud of the fictions that have dominated it for the past twenty years from reparations and war debts to the universality, equality of membership and pacifism of the League? Two burning fictions are already present holding up and complicating the European (\*): non-recognition of the Italian Empire of Ethiopia and non-recognition of belligerent rights to France. It is insisted that this question be linked with that of volunteers. The latter is practically non-existent since if no further contingents are being sent it obviously solves itself through the terrible wearing down process of war. To withhold recognition of belligerent rights greatly complicates affairs whereas to grant it would radically simplify them. It is universally realized that the Nationalist ...

865d of

Government



2 lw, No. 346, July 24, noon, from Rome

Government possesses all requisites for such action and yet people keep on pretending to believe that Franço is only a rebel general.

Instead of facing problems as they are Europe continues a game of unreasonable (\*). Some day these card castles will fall before reality.

PHILLIPS ...

(\*) omissions

CSB

# DOCUMENT FILE NOTE

SEE	<b>7</b> 83.00 <b>3/275</b>	FOR	letter	
FROM	Capitulatory Conference (Egypt)	مراling ) د	DATED	May 12, 1937
то	(Egypt)	NAME		111 <b>37</b>

#### REGARDING:

Description in the Montreux Capitulations Convention of the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia.

Comments on -.

7 k5 d. 01

## DOCUMENT FILE

#### NOTE

SEE 765.00/99	FORdespa	tch #488
FROM Italy	(	July 15, 1937

#### REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian East Africa

Translation of Landsbury's remarks
to press correspondents following
his conversation with Mussolini
at which time Mussolini stated
a discussion between Italian and
British representatives would open
the way to recognition of the new
state of affairs in Abyssinia.

### DOCUMENT FILE

#### NOTE

FROM **Poland** ( **Bidle** ) DATED **July 30, 1937** TO NAME 1-1127 \*\*\*

REGARDING: FOR THE SECRETARY.

Chamberlain willing to send Eden to Rome to discuss preparations for prepased new four power Locarno Pact. Great Britain's attitude toward Abyssinian question.

### DOCUMENT FILE

## NOTE

SEE	741.65/393	FOR Tel. 3	61- 2pm
	Italy	(.Phillips ) DATED	Aug.3,1937
TO		NAME	1-1197 404

**REGARDING:** 

Ethiopian Empire recognition. Statement of Sir Erio Chamberlain that there is no possibility of settling questions pending between Italian and British Governments, which are almost exclusively of a colonial nature, until after the question of has been satisfactorily disposed of.

741.63

RB
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (B)

Rome

Dated August 4, 1937
Rec'd 1:45 p. m.

Secretary of State

Washington.

361, August 4, 2 p. m.

My telegram No. 358, August 3, 11 a. m.

The British Ambassador has furnished me following background information concerning exchange of letters between Chamberlain and Mussolini:

At the time Chamberlain took office as Prime Minister, Mussolini instructed Grandi to deliver to him a personal congratulatory message to be communicated orally when Grandi considered the moment opportune. Grandi apparently felt that iden's speech in the House of Commons on July 19th afforded a favorable opportunity for delivery of the message and he acted accordingly. A few days later Chamberlain addressed a letter to Mussolini thanking him for his message. Chamberlain also referred to his brother Austin's favorable opinion of Mussolini and expressed a willingness to enter into discussions with a view to settling outstanding difficulties. "ussolini replied in similar vein stating that

he would welcome such discussions. Sir Eric said he did not believe these letters would be published as they were of a rather personal and very general character. He is of the opinion that the conversations should take place in Rome rather than in London and feels strongly that they should be put off until after the September meeting of the League of Nations. He said there is no possibility of settling questions pending between the two governments, which are almost exclusively of a colonial nature, until after the question of Ethiopian Empire recognition has been satisfactorily disposed of. He considers that it would be extremely unfair to other members of the League were Great Britain to undertake to reach an agreement with Italy on recognition prior to and independently of the League meeting.

The tone of the press here continues to reflect much optimism regarding the prospects of a rapprochement with Great Britain and this feeling has been accentuated by an interview which Ciano gave yesterday to Universal Press and which has doubtless been featured in the American press.

Copies mailed to London, Paris, Berlin.

PHILLIPS

# DOCUMENT FILE NOTE

SEE	741.65/392	FOR	Tel.	#185,	l p.m.	***************************************
FROM TO	Germany	(	ATED _	Aug	-4, 18 ⊢un	37

Recognition of Italy's position in Abyssinia. Conversation with the Soviet Counsellor concerning the nonintervention situation, indicating that their information was to the effect that the Chamberlain-Mussolini communications had reached the point of considering concrete matters, such as,—

#### NOTE

SEE <u>349</u>	b.00/79	FOR Despate	n #51
FROM	M <b>alt</b> a	( Green ) DATED J	aly 30,1937
то		NAME	1-1197 000

REGARDING:

Recognition by Great Britain of Italy's gains in Abyssinia. The local press hints that there is some possibility of, in return for assurances of maintenance of the status quo in the Mediterranean.

#### NOTE

SEE 852.00/6164 Confidential File FOR Tel. #1116, noon #1117, 1118, 1119

FROM France (Bullitt ) DATED Aug. 5, 1937

TO NAME 1-1157 000

**REGARDING:** 

Recognition of government of Italian Mast Africa. Conversation with Chautemps during which he stated that the British had decided to push the recognition of the King of Italy as emperor of Ethiopia at the next meeting of the League, that they were ready to offer this advantage in return for Mussolini's relinquishment of certain positions to which he had no right.

#### NOTE

SEE	852,00/6167	FOR Tel	. #729, 8 pm
FROM	Spain	Thurston at . ( Valencia ) DATED	Aug. 5, 1937

#### REGARDING:

Recognition of King of Italy as Emperor of Italian East Africa. Comment on attitude of the British Government to decision of the Spanish Government to send a delegation to Geneva to request the League to take action in the Spanish conflict by applying sanctions, which is attributed to the possibility that the declaration may embarrase negotiations between Great Britain and Italy concerning the Ethiopian issue.

## DOCUMENT FILE NOTE

SEE -851-00/1712 Contidential Plan-	FOR Tel. 114	6-11pm
FROM France	(Bullitt) DATED	Auga 11,1937

REGARDING:

Government-Italy. Statement of Chautemps that he had let Cerntti, Italian Ambassador in Paris, understand that France positively would not recognize the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia this September but would favor antion by the League at that time which would permit France to recognize the King as Emperor of Ethiopia.

#### NOTE

SEE	741.65/403	FOR Deni 328	7
( <b>)</b> (i, ii)		POR	J
FROM	Great Brits	nin (Johnson ) dated	Aug. 10, 1937
hab.		NAME	1-1127 000

#### REGARDING:

Diplomatic correspondent of the DAILY TELEGRAPH believes Prime Minister Chamberlain wants the recognition of Abyssinia question fully clarified this autumn so as to remove one important obstacle to any practical advance towards European appeasement. Believes the League Assembly will take action in September.

#### NOTE

SEE 765.00/101	FOR	To 1. 384 - 7pm
FROM Italy	Phillips )	DATED Aug. 21, 1937

#### REGARDING:

Government-Italian East Africa. Statement in editorial by Gayda, that the Ethiopia question must be definitely eliminated and the facts accepted unequivocally. Of the Heagus, Italy only asks recognition of the nonexistence of the empire of the Negus whereupon each country can then regulate its conduct as it sees fit.

# 865p.01/ 398

#### DOCUMENT FILE

#### NOTE

SEE	823.24/119	FOR # 5506	
FROM .	Peru	( Dreyfus ) DATED Aug. 23, 1937.	
TO		NAME 1-1187 are	

REGARDING: Rumored bargaining for recognition of Italian Empire.

Comment on rumored offer of sale of Italian armanents to Equador and Peru, part to be without cost in return for recognition.

#### NOTE

SEE	740,00/206	Contra was erro		FOR	<b>#5</b> 55			
EDOM	Italy	. T d d d w m w d d d d m a n a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a	Reed			Samb 0	1057	
FROM		*******************	(	)	DATED	Dahra St	-YKUT	
то			NAN	4E		2-1197		

REGARDING:

Ambassador's conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

With regard to the Ethiopian situation, Count Ciano did not know whether the problem would be settled at the forthcoming League meeting. Said that all that Italy asked would be refusal on part of the League to seat the Ethiopian delegation, which would be tantamount to recognition that the Ethiopian Empire no longer existed.

sd'

#### **DOCUMENT FILE**

#### NOTE

SEE 740.00/20	07	FOR	tel	#596 7pm	计图 电电子 化氢氢甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲基甲
FROM Great Br	itain ( Jo	hnaon ) DA'	TED	Sept.14	1937

REGARDING: Abyssinian question

If Abyssinia is an obstacle to Anglo-Italian rapprochement is of the opinion the British will find some practical way to dispose of it

#### NOTE

SEE 865d.00/18	FOR #81	
FROMAden	( Colquitt ) DATED Au	ng.31, 1937
ro	NAME	2-1137 epo

#### **REGARDING:**

Conditions in Ethiopia.

Report on - with conclusion that conditions are unsatisfactory under Italian rule and that substantial advancement can be brought about only at tremendous cost and over a period of many years.

# DOCUMENT FILE NOTE

SEE 852.00/6530	FOR	Tel. #605, 7 pm
FROM Great Britain	( Johnson )	DATED Sept. 23, 1937

REGARDING: Abyssinian question. The British Foreign Office expressed regret that no one during the meeting of the League Assembly had had the courage to tackle the question of Abyssinia.

10° 31.

## DOCUMENT FILE NOTE

SEE 765.90b 2/6	FOR	despatch #562
FROM Italy	( Reed ) D/	ATED Sept.9, 1937
то	NAME	11197 ere

REGARDING: Government of Italian East Africa

Treaty of Friendship between Italy and the Yemen, signed Sept.4, 1937 at Sanaa recognizes the -.

#### NOTE

SEE852.00/6579	FOR			
FROMGreat Britain	(Jobnson) NAME	DATED	8ep.ta. 30, 1937	

#### REGARDING:

Recognition of the fait accompli in Abyssinia. Regret expressed by the British Foreign Office that the question of -, was not settled at Geneva. Great Britain cannot disassociate herself easily from the League on such a matter and Mussolini is thought to hold the entirely erroneous belief that Great Britain is trying to block recognition of the Italian conquest.

RB
A portion of this telegram
must be closely paraphrasedbefore being communicated
to anyone. (A)

LONDON

Dated September 30, 1937
Rec'd 4:32 p. m.

Recretary of State

11

Washington.

623, Sentember 30, 7 p. m.

(CRAY) My 612, September 25, 4 p. m.

The Cabinet has approved provisionally a draft of a joint communication by Great Britain and France to Italy which has been under elaboration for the past several days. It is understood the note will propose three power talks on means for making effective non-intervention in Spain and that it will tackle the all important problem of withdrawal of the foreign forces now in that country. (END GRAY)

during the last two days with responsible officials that they view the problem plainly in its immediate aspect as an Anglo-Italian issue with France and Germany as figures.

Nuscolini wants a rapprochement with England and at the same time hopes that he can gather enough support to have it on his own terms. The conclusion of the Nyon agreement, however, with its demonstration that Great Britain and France meant

CORICOLY CONFIDENTIAL. I gather from conversations

business

RB -2-#623, September 30, 7 p. m. from London

7100

business on the vitally important issue of law and security in the l'editerranean has somewhat shaken his confidence: and his visit to Hitler has not, it is believed, offered him anything in the way of Encouragement toward enlarging the scope of his activities in Spain. Whether he will accept the Anglo-French demarche is of course not known, but even of he does, it would be hold, in the view here. to argue optimisticly that any very forward step had been taken toward a real Anglo-Italian rapprochement. The Poreign Office views with extreme regret that the question of recognizing the fait accompli in Abyssinia has not been settled at Geneva. It has been made plain to me that the Foreign Office is willing to recognize the Italian conquest as a fait accompli but obviously the question of a formula for utting this recognition into effect offers real difficulties. Great Britain cannot disassociate herself easily from the League on such a matter and Mussolini is thought to hold the entirely erroneous belief that Great Britain is trying to block recognition of the Italian conquest. He is cuspicious of British sincerity and it seems that he does not fully understand that the thing vital to this country on which it will not recede is absolute security of the sea route through the Mediterranean. Just why the British are not

willing themselves

RB -3- #623, September 30, 7 p. m. from London

willing themselves to take the initiative at Geneva on this question, in view of their realistic conception of the facts, is not clear, although they may perhaps consider that !ussolini would, in his present aggrieved and truculent state of mind, take it as an indication of British weakness, thus making negotiation with him difficult on more important and pressing issues.

JOHNSON

NEL

RGC

4 140



140 Broadway

140 Broadway Fifth Avenue at 347 SECT 27 MI 10 05 Madison Avenue at 80% St.

New York Offices

**New York** 

October 26, 1937

Foreign Offices

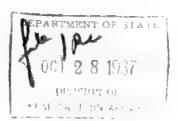
London Liverpool Brussels Paris Havre Antwerp

CONTAIN OF HUNS

In replying please refer to

849-1

act 137 1891



Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

In our booklet, "Bank and Public Holidays Throughout the World," which we shall publish soon for the year 1938, we shall endeavor to list the countries that are recognized by your department.

In a dispatch from Washington in the New York Times of March 6, you stated that the American Legation and Consulate in Addis Ababa would be closed and diplomatic and consular representation of the United States in Ethiopia terminated on March 31. It further states that this action by the State Department did not constitute recognition de facto or otherwise of Italy's conquest of the country.

If you have not recognized Italy's conquest of the country, do you believe it would be advisable for us to list Ethiopia in our publication under its own name and without reference to the recent war?

Yours very truly,

H.W. Carlisla

Manager

In reply refer to NE 865D.01/315

Mr. H. W. Carlisle,
Menager, Guaranty Trust Company of New York,
140 Broadway,
New York, New York,

Sir:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 26, 1937 (849-1), inquiring concerning the advisability of listing Ethiopia, under its own name and without reference to the recent Italian-Ethiopian conflict, in your booklet entitled "Bank and Public Holidays Throughout the Norld" in which you propose to include only the countries recognized by this Government.

The Department regrets that it is not in a position to offer any advice in the above connection as it is not in accordance with its practice to pass upon the contents of material embodied in mon-official publications.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

NO PLOS

Wallace Murray, Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs

HE JRC/WSM ED

11. 12 M. 14181.

#### NOTE

SEE	701.6539/5		FOR	Despar	Despatch #27			
FROM	Dominican Republic		wood	DATED	Oct.	18, 19	37	
го		N	AME			1-1197	470	

#### REGARDING:

Mario Porta presented credentials as Envoy of King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia and was received as such by the President.

2654.0

Legation

### Ciudad Trujillo, Santo Domingo, D. R., October 18, 1937.

No. 27

Subject: Presentation of Gredentials by New Italian Minister: Recognition of Italian Empire of Ethiopia.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Sir

Cotober 16, the new Italian Minister to the Dominican Republic, Knight Commander Mario Porta, presented his oredentials to President Trujillo as the Envoy of the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia. He was received as such by the President, thus constituting a tacit recognition by the Dominican Republic of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

The Minister's address to President Trujillo contained nothing of special note other than to emphasize that his letters of eredence were from the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia and to stress the identity between Italy and the Dominican Republic in their political philosophy of "disciplined liberty". President Trujillo in response stated:

"I receive the letters of credence which accredit you with the character of Envoy Extra-ordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia before my Government."

The President stressed the similarity of principles which guide his own and the Italian Government. He emphasized somewhat significantly that this identity of ideas was stronger than temporary forces tending to separate the two States, a possible reference to the strained relations between Italy and his Government arising from the Barletta affair.

It would appear, therefore, that the conversations initiated early this year by the homorary Italian Consul, Signor Barletta, in his attempt to persuade the Dominican Government to recognize the Italian conquest of Ethiopia have at last borne fruit. It will be noted, however, (see Legation's despatches Nos. 3721 of January 12, 1937 and 3784 of January 13, 1937) that the Dominican Government has adhered to its original thesis that it would make no overt statement acknowledging the Italian regime in Abyssinia, confining the act to the tacit recognition implied in accepting credentials from the "Emperor of Ethiopia".

In return for such recognition the Italian Government has accredited its first Minister with actual residence in this capital, thus satisfying the longcherished desire of President Trujillo to increase the tiny diplomatic corps in his capital city. Respectfully yours,

> Franklin B. Atwood, Charge d'Affaires ad interim,

701.1 RMM0/wlg

wiff.

# 8650.01/317

#### DOCUMENT FILE

#### NOTE

SEE	701.6551/11	FOR Tel. 1503, noon	
	France	( Bullitt ) DATED Oct. 23, 1937	937
ГО		NAME 1-1127 600	

#### REGARDING:

Italian Ambassador to France to be withdrawn and replace by a Charge d'Affaires in retaliation for refusal of French Government to accredit an Ambassador to the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

LESTER S. ABBERLEY

NEW YORK, N. Y.

1937 THOME STROLL 7-1201 47

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECURDS

October 22, 1937.

9661.01

Hon. Harry A. McBride, Assistant to the Secretary of State, Department of State, Washington D. C.

Dear Mr. McBride:

As you probably know, one of the tenants of Rocke-feller is the Consul General of Italy who has space in the International Building. On the entrance door of the leased property now appears the following designation:

"CONSOLATO GENERALE DI S.M. IL RE D'ITALIA"

We have just received a request from the Consular Agent asking us to add to the above designation, the following:

"IMPERATORE D'ETIOPIA".

I suppose that I ought to know but I have not kept in close enough contact with the situation to be able to advise my associates whether or not our Government has recognized the King of Italy as the Emperor of Ethiopia. If we have given such recognition I will advise that we consent to this additional designation, but if we have not given it, then I would pause.

With all good wishes, I am

Your singerely, Salebulleyz

The question you raise in your personal letter of October 22, 1937, has not come before the Department.

No new question has arisen in our relationship with it.

Any decision you might make with regard to the request before you would have no bearing on the official relationship between this country and Italy.



TWH VOUS



#### THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



#### AMERICAN EMBASSY

No. 621

ROME, October 29, 1937.

Recognition by Fascist Government of services of Subject: Eritreans and Somalis during Ethiopian Campaign.

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10 10 SIVIO Yes No v TRUTTO'S ..

Hono Pable

Thersecretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

with reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 233 of February 24, 1937, I have the honor to quote in translation the following statement carried in the Italian press on October 28, 1937:

"At the beginning of the 16 year of the Fascist Era, recognizing the notable services of Eritreans and Somalis during the Ethiopian campaign, not only by contributing valorous troops to the conquest of the Empire,

but

but also by working in every way for the final victory the Duce has ordered:

- "1. In all documents of the Government indigenes of Eritrea and Somalia are no longer to be designated as 'natives' but as 'Eritreans' and 'Somalis'.
- "2. Preference is to be given in employment in the local East African Government to those Eritreans and Somalis who have fought with the Italian Army or whose fathers have been killed in action.
- "3. Similar preference is to be given for appointment to the positions of 'chiefs' and 'notables' in Eritrea and Somalia.
- "4. An institute for assistance to Eritrean and Somali wounded veterans and a school for war orphans are to be created in Asmara and Mogadiscio.
- "5. The local Governments in East Africa are, up to the limits of their powers in the matter, to issue to Eritreans and Somalis applying therefor licenses to carry on commerce, open cafés, restaurants, etc., carry on the trade of chauffeur, and engage in all other trades, without restriction.
- "6. An amnesty of exceptional importance is to be granted to Eritreans and Somalis.

and the Governor of Italian East Africa to bring to the

knowledge of the Eritrean and Somali armed forces and the population, in the most formal manner, this recognition by the Fascist Government toward our two faithful countries bordering on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean."

Respectfully yours,

William Phillips.

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A-M/C RECORDING DEBK FILE - (2) NOVIS SOL

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A-M/C
A-SISTANT SECRETARY
OF STATE

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DEC 2-1937

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF INDUSTRIAL

AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES

IN ITALIAN EAST AFRICA

By: American Consul

Howard L. Withey.

Naples, Italy. Date of completion: October 21, 1937.

Date of mailing: October 27, 1937.

APPROVED:

Thomas D. Bowman, American Consul General. The industrial and commercial development of
Italian East Africa was put on a corporative (in
the Fascist sense) basis in an early stage of organization. The selection, direction and control of
industrial and commercial initiative have been
handled through the familiar syndical and corporative institutions and the fundamental aim has been
to prevent a chaotic influx of wild-cat concerns and
others not adequately equipped for successful functioning under the conditions existing in the colony.

So far the Ministry of Italian Africa has issued 956 permits for commercial and 952 for industrial enterprises. These permits were exclusive of those issued for minor projects by the five local "governments" into which Italian East Africa is divided.

During the last year the Ministry examined and decided many thousands of permit applications.

The system now in effect works about as desoribed below.

Establishment in East Arrica of Persons or Concerns Domiciles in Italy.

All such wishing to engage in economic activities in the colony must file an applica-

tion with the provincial council of corporations in the place of legal domicile, the application being addressed to the Ministry of Italian Africa or to the central colonial administration or to the regional governments, depending upon the jurisdictions next following.

A. - The Ministry of Italian Africa has jurisdiction over: (1) wholesale trade regardless of the amount of capital engaged in the enterprise; (2) industrial activity when the capital engaged is not less than 500,000 lire; (3) industries engaged in the production of spectacles (theatres, motion pictures, etc.) irrespective of the amount of capital invested; (4) automotive transport enterprises involving the use of not less than ten vehicles belonging to the applicant; (5) industries and commercial concerns doing business in carburants or lubricants regardless of the amount of capital employed.

B. - The "governments" of Italian East Africa, upon the advice of the local corporative organizations, decide the following applications: (1) retail commerce irrespective of invested capital; (2) industrial activities when the capital involved is less than 500,000 lire; (3) activities of artisans in general; (4) automotive transport businesses when the applicant utilizes less than ten vehicles; (5) the establishment of hotels, boarding houses, pensions, restaurants and cafés; (6) automotive repair shops and garages.

Sometimes the applicant for a permit does not indicate the part of the colony in which he wishes to operate. In those cases the central administration of the whole colony, as distinguished from the regional "governments", decides the matter.

Transfer or Extension

from One Part of the
Colony to Another.

Anyone wishing to transfer
or extend a commercial busi-

ness to another "government", whether he continues business in the original territory or not, must file an application with the regional administration (Govern-

ment) of the territory within which he is already operating. The application is however referred to the central Government at Addis Abeba and its decision, made after having consulted the local corporative organs concerned, is final. Anyone wishing to extent an industrial business already in operation or to transfer it from one "government" to another, without abandoning the original enterprise, must apply for permission to the Ministry of Italian Africa which Ministry also consults with the appropriate colonial corporative agencies. These provisions however apply only to those businesses which represent an investment of over 500,000 lire. Where the invested capital is less than that the applications are decided by the central colonial administration.

852 Hyw.bl

Sources of information:

Regulations issued by the Ministry of Italian East Africa; miscellaneous information on file.

Guaranty Trust Company of New York

140 Broadway

**New York** 

Foreign Offices
Liverpool Have

Paris ol Havro s Antwerp

NOV 8 10 7 DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

In replying please refer to 810-1

SOUND HEND STATE

Fairs,

Mr. Wallace Murray, Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

NE 865D.01/315

Dear Sir:

New York Offices

140 Broadway

Fifth Avenue at 44% St.

Madison Avenue at 60% St.

We have received your letter of November

3, explaining your attitude toward non-official publications. Will you please let us know, as a matter of information, if the United States Government has recognized officially Italy's conquest of Ethiopia.

Yours very truly,

Manager

865D.01/321

Mr. H. W. Carlisle, Manager,

> Guaranty Trust Company of New York, 140 Broadway, New York, New York.

31 P:

The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of November 5, 1937, asking to be informed, as a matter of information, whether the United States Government has recognized officially Italy's conquest of Ethiopia.

It is, of course, a matter of public knowledge that the territory of the Empire of Ethiopia is now being administered in large part, if not entirely, by Italian military authorities. The Department of State, however, has had no occasion to express any opinion as to the juridical consequences of that situation.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

Wallace Murray Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs

1.

HE: JRO/GC Mea

L= 345 V Wy6

## DOCUMENT FILE NOTE

SEE 762.94/193	FOR	Tel. #476, 11 a.m.
FROMItaly	( Phillips )	DATED Nov. 13, 1937

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian colonies. In conversation with Count Ciano, he stated that a number of matters between Italy and Great Britain remained to be adjusted and as they were chiefly colonial matters, ,- was a necessary preliminary.

Ъ



# LEGATION OF DEPARTMENT OF SPATE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Managua, D.N., Nicaragua, November 16, 1937.

No. 721.

UEC 6 1937 31.4

NICARAGUA AND THE ITALIAN OCCUPATION OF ETHIOPIA.

CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BS7 NOV 22 PM | 37

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECURDS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that, according to the local press, the Nicaraguan Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, on November 11, 1937, telegraphed the Italian Minister accredited to Nicaragua but residing in San José, Costa Rica, and congratulated him "on the occasion of the Sixty Ninth Anniversary of the Birth of His Majesty Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia."

I inquired informally at the Foreign Office
whether this news item were correct and if Nicaragua
recognized the claims of Italy over Ethiopia. The
Acting

SHA MINE FOR

139. X

Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs told me that the telegram had been sent merely as an act of courtesy and that the term "Emperor of Ethiopia" in no way implied Nicaraguan recognition of Italian claims.

1.

### Felicitación de Nicaragua por el natalicio del Rey de Italia y Emperador d' Etiopia

Via Radio Nacional - Minister rio da Relaciones Exteriores Ma negua, D N., 11 de Noviembre de 1937.

Exemo. Sr. Iginio Ugo Fera: Ministro Plenipotenciario de Ita

lia, San José, C. R. En nombre del Gobierno de Nicaragua y en el mío propio, complázcame enviar a Vuestra Exceleucia las más cumplidas fe licitaciones con motivo del LXIX aniversario del natalicio de de su majestad Victor Manuel III, Rey de Italia y Emperador de Etiopía.

Aprovechando esta oportunidad para renovar Vuestra Exce lencia las muesttas de mi alta y distinguida consideración.

Antonio Barquero Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores por la ley-

### NOTE

SEE 701,6551/13	FOR	Despatch #1211
FROM France	( Bullitt )	DATED Nov. 2, 1937

#### **REGARDING:**

French Government unable to agree to Italian demand that appointed ambassador should be accredited to the King of Italy, "Emperor of Ethiopia" and as a consequence French Embassy in Rome has been left in the hands of a charge d'affaires during the past year and the Italian Government has retaliated by withdrawing their Ambassador from Paris.

M

86 5 A.

Paris, November 8,1987

Mo. 1211

### CONTIDENTIAL

Bubject: Withdrawal from Paris of Italian Ambassador.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Referring to my telegrams No.1505, October 25,
12 noon, and No.1539, October 28, 7 P.M., regarding the
expected withdrawal from Paris of the Italian Ambassador,
I have the honor to report that M. Cerruti left Paris
on October 31.

While the official Italian explanation for the withdrawal of M. Cerruti is that he is taking a prolonged leave of absence and will probably be retired, it is, of course, fully recognized in all quarters that the real explanation is retaliation against the French Covernment

because . . . . .

French Embassy in Rome has been left in the hands of a chargé d'affaires, the French Government having been unable to agree to the Italian demand that the appointed ambassador, M. de Saint Quentin, should be accredited to the King of Italy, "Emperor of Ethiopia".

Foreign Office opinion here holds that the French Government has been shabbily treated by the Italian Government in this matter. In the first place, it is believed that the Italian Government has failed to recognize and appreciate the restraining influence which the French Government sought to exercise at certain stages of the Ethiopian affair upon the apparent desire of other countries, notably Great Britain, to accentuate the force of economic sanctions against Italy. Furthermore, it is felt here that it should be amply clear to the Italian Covernment that the French Government has desired to liquidate the Ethiopian affair, and would have been only too happy if a decent way could have been found for the Assembly at Geneva to take a decision which would permit the formal recognition of the Italian conquest and annexation of Ethiopia. It is felt here that the Italian authorities should be able to appreciate the fact that France is bound by the decisions of the Council and Assembly at Geneva and could not act independently of or contrary to the decision of those bodies.

Turthermore, it is considered in Paris that the

Italian Government, far from making an effort to adjust

this troublesome question of the French Embassy in Rome,

has gone out of its way to be disagreeable to the French

Government. It is stated here that, when the French Government decided over a year ago to retire Count de Chambrun as Ambassador in Rome, the Italian Government gave its agrément to the appointment of M. de Saint uentin without raising any conditions, and that it was only later, after H. de Saint quentin's appointment was officially announced, that the Italian Government advised the French Government that the new ambassador would not be received unless his letters were addressed to the King of Italy, "Emperor of Ethiopia". In this connection, the Foreign Office here refers to the agrement given by the Italian Government in July 1936 (it is believed) to the appointment of Ambassador Phillips in Rome, the proclamation of the annexation of Ethiopia having taken place in June; and furthermore to the fact that ambassador Phillips later carried letters of oredence addressed only to the Hing of Italy, these letters being accepted by the Italian Government without objection. It is, moreover, pointed out that the Italian Covernment, in order to avoid an incident of similar nature with Great Britain, has agreed that the British ambassador in Rome, Lord Porth, should not present new letters of credence, as would ordinarily be done following the accession to the throne of a new sovereign in Great Britain. It is noted that the Italian Covernment has gone out of its way to make difficulties for the French Covernment in the matter of its Embassy in Rome, while going out of its way to prevent similar difficulties regarding the British Embassy in Rome.

It may be of some interest to note that the

withdrawal....

withdrawal of M. Cerruti may have been decided upon suddenly by his Government. We reported in our despatch No.1150 of October 19,1937, that the then Counselor of the Italian Embassy here, Baron Scaduto, had been given only a few days to wind up his personal arrangements, leave the Embassy and make way for his successor. It seems possible that the Italian Government may have reached a sudden decision to recall Ambassador Cerruti and found it advisable to have the Embassy here left in charge, in the absence of an ambassador, of an official who had been recently in closer contact with the Foreign Office than Scaduto. M. Prunas, who will not as Charge d'Affaires, arrived in Paris only a few days ago. According to his own statement, he spent the past year in the Foreign Office at Rome. We have heard, from a reliable source, that during that period he was regarded as one of the outstandingly capable officials at the Foreign Office. Prior to that period, Prunas served in Geneva, as a member of the Political Section of the League Secretariat.

Respectfully yours,

(SIGNED) WILLIAM C. BULLITT

William C. Bullitt

### In triplicate

Copies by pouch to London & Rome.

HC. \kb

### NOTE

BEE	741.62/194	Confidential Pile FOR	Tel. 136-naon	
FROM	Poland	( Biddle	DATED Nov. 15, 1937.	
TO		NAME	1-1107	670

REGARDING:

Italian conquest of Abyssinia. Hitler is prepared to offer good offices towards helping bring about truce in the Sino- Japanese conflict and the Spanish civil conflict pre-vided Great Britain will use good offices to persuade other powers to recognize...

### NOTE

SEE	701.60h65/8	FOR	Tel. 1620, 6pm
FROM .	France	( Wilson )	DATED Nov. 17, 1937
ТО		NAME	11127 0.50

#### **REGARDING:**

Yugoslav Minister to Italy: Report that - will present credentials to "King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia"; report confirmed.

### NOTE

SEE760h_65/758	FOR Tel.#54	. <b> </b>
FROM Yugoslavia	(Lane) DATED	November 18, 1937

REGARDING: New Yugoslav Minister to Italy credence addressed to the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia.

### NOTE

FROM France (Bullitt ) DATED November 22, 1937.

TO NAME 1-11W 0F0

REGARDING: In conversation with Delbos on the European situation,
Delbos said that neither he nor Chautemps would object
to accrediting an Ambassador to the King of Italy,
Emperor of Ethiopia, if that were the only bone of
contention between France and Italy.

W

### DOCUMENT FILE

### NOTE

SEE <u>123</u>	5 Bullitt, Will:	Confidential File	7	
FROM	France	( Bullitt ) DATED	Nov.25, 1937	
то		NAME	I-1187 6F6	67

REGARDING: Visit of Ambassador Bullitt to Warsaw and Berlin. Memorandum of conversation between the Ambassador and the Italian Ambassador to Berlin. Ambassador Attolico remarked that Mussolini desired peace and would be ready to support peace anywhere in return for recognition of the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia. Attolico also expressed the belief that if Ethiopia should be recognized as an Italian possession, it would be possible for Italy to begin conversations for a new Locarno, and that Germany would follow in such conversations.

SEE enclosure No. 3, page 1 and 2.

### NOTE

SEE 8654.00/22	FOR despet	<u>1</u> 499
FROM Adea	( Chiperfield ) DATED	Nov.6,1937.

REGARDING:
Norale of the Italians in Ethiopia is not good.

-2

# DOCUMENT FILE NOTE

SEE	8654.00/21				FOR		#	528	***	<del></del>
FROM	Italy	********		(Phi 111)	p.a)	DA	TED.		Nov. 3,	1937
то				N/	ME				2-1187	870
	(Enclosing	report	of	October	8,1937	by	Mr.	Jay	Walker,	Cairo.)

REGARDING: Italian administration of Libya.

There is no legislative or advisory council in the colony. Full powers rest with Governor General who rules by issuing decrees and enforcing them. Many Italian laws are enforced in Libya but in most cases, the Governor General applies his own interpretation for local enforcement.

### \* JUMPANT OF OBLINVATIONS IN LIBYA ( by Vice Consul Jay walker )

Cairo, Egypt, October 5, 1937.

### COMITE MAIAL

### Acquisition of Colony.

cocupied the see-ports of Tripolitania and Circusica.

Is the campaign progressed, the military occupation

was extended to include points in several zones as far
as sixty miles inland. The Treaty of Ouehy, October

18, 1912, closing the Italo-Turkish war of 1911-1912,

wave Italy theoretical control of an area only about
one half as large as the present hibys. The Italians
were compelled, during the world war, to withdraw their
military forces from the interior of the country and
concentrate them behind the newly created walls around
the cities of Tripoli and on asi; also the towns of

hortly siter the orld mar, the Italians again removed their military campain; extended the lines of occupation alon the whole coastal area, and re-occupied the towns or issuate and firte as well as many in-land points in respolitants. From 1921 to 1925, military op tions were intensified and the whole rezzan area,

ee note on last page.

area, as far south as Murauch, was occupied. Active military work had to be carried on in Girenaica until the final occupation of the casis of Cufra in 1989.

In addition to the enlargement of the colony by military conquest, four boundary settlements between 1919 and 1935, with States holding adjacent territory, gave Italy the opportunity to practically double the size of her colony. The territory adjustments in question were:

- Boundary settlement with France in 1919, as a result of the Treaty of 1915, gave Italy a large zone between Gadames, hasi, and Gat on the most and butween Gat, Ausi, and Tumme in the south-west corner of the country.
- The Italo-Egyptian Treaty of December 5, 1925, gave Italy a large zone on the eastern side of the colony including the cases of Giarabub and Oufra.
- III British-Egyptian-Italian Agreement of July 20, 1934, added a large area to the southern end of the colony from Uweinat south to ardi.
- The home Accord of January 1935, between France and Italy is reported to have ceded to Italy a large area on the southern end of the colony between Tunco and Erdi.

### General Description.

The combined territories which make up the present colony of Libya are estimated to total approximately 677,000 square miles -- nearly six times the size of Italy. It is enerally admitted that the only parts of the colony which are habitable and which present any possibility of Italian development are the widely scattered cases along the coast between the Tunisian frontier and the town of lisurate on the western side of the Gulf of wirte, and a comparatively small area between Barce and herna on the last -- not a twentieth part of the whole country.

exception of the Garian district, are not considered suitable for the establishment of European communities. Outside the cases, practically the whole country is either a sandy desert or barren, rocky waste lands. The climate along the coast is often damp during the winter months and very hot during the other months of the year. In the foothills of both western and eastern Libya, it is extremely hot in summer while the great desert spaces of the interior have a very unpleasant climate.

The official census taken in becamber 1935, showed that there were about 900,000 inhabitants in the solony of whom only about 50,000 were Europeans -- almost entirely Italian subjects.

overned as two separate colonies. Since that date, the country has been divided, for administrative purposes, into five districts with provincial overnment seats at ripoli, isurata, sen asi, and berna. The whole southern area of the country is governed as a military zone. The city of Tripoli is now the capitol of the whole colony and the seat of residence of the Governor Geno. al.

the two widely separated corraphical divisions of the calony are are entrally known as tripolitania and thenaica

In the western part -- Tripolitania -- the chief
po.t and city of art will, with a constation of about
95,000 immatatants, is situated near one of the largest
oness which is don't eight miles long and three miles
wice. Ther oness, sublish in size, along the coast

are at .uara -- near the Tunisian frontier -- and Homs, Liten, and Lisurata east of Tripoli, all about 30 to 40 miles apart.

Turning to the interior regions, Azizia, Tarkuna, and Gusbat are small centres about 30 miles inland where Italian colonists have attempted -- for about ten years, and without any marked success -- to cultivate open sand lands. Coing further inland to the foothills at Garian, the traveler reaches one of the oldest established towns in the country. It is surrounded by some ten square miles of red clay soil where clive trees have been under cultivation for centuries. The community of Ti rinna forms a part of the Garian area. It is composed of a roup of some 340 families from Abruzzi. Italy, who are settled on small plots of land under direction of the Italian Tobacco onopoly. Beyond this point, the cases are separated by reat distances. Lizda is a small casis some fifty miles south of Garian. It is the starting point on route to the reat barren, rocky, and uninhabited regions to the south-west. Along the crest of the Garian foothills to the west, small ouses are found at Jefren, Giado, and Cabao. At .alut, some 237 miles south-west of Tripoli, on one of the mi hest points of the debel, there is an important ilitary post. South of this point, there are small ouses at lineuen and serge adames, at the junction of the 1 ... ian-Tunisian-Libyan ironticrs, is some 495 miles from fripoli. Gat is about 498 miles farther south, at the extreme south-western corner of the colony. Due to the extreme heat, there are no civilian residents in

Gademes and Gat during the summer months. In the winter, two or three Italian civilians live at Gademes but only military forces are held at distant Gat.

In the far central region of Tripolitania known as the Fezzen, scattered cases at Murzuch, Sabha, Ubari, Brach, Uaddan, and hun are occupied by military forces. mest of Tripoli along the coast, Home, Lliten, Misurata, Tauorga, and sirte are important towns and cases. isurata to Sengasi, a distance of approximately 450 miles around the Gulf of Sirte, there is a long barron zone of territory practically uninhabited, and made up in certain regions of sinking bog lands. The town of sirte, about half way between Tripoli and Bengasi, has been developed into an air and marine base. .oluch, a comparatively short distance south of Ben, asi, is used principally as a military distributing centre for points in southwestern circuaica. The city of Bengasi is the military and political headquarters of Circuaica. The desolate waste lands around the dulf of Sirte continue as far as the village of Toera, about forty miles along the coast northeast of Hengasi, and run inland until the hills are reached near Barco.

The hills at parce surround a valley of some ten space miles. This area and that runling over the hilly country to berna is covered with shrubbery. It is one of the few areas in bibya having a light soil instead of a lad the rooms, stalling colonists here are from path on italy and have been settled at rimavera, said if anyone, and proven settled at rimavera, by the rescist covernment.

The small city of Derma on the coast is surrounded by an oasis of some four square miles, entirely enclosed by a high stone wall built for defense purposes some twenty-five years ago. From Derma east to the Egyptian torder, the landscape again turns to high desolate waste lands, almost uninhabited except for the naval and military forces at Tobruch and Bardia. The region to the south forms a part of the creat Libyan desert. Military and air bases are maintained at echili and hacheim in the interior, and at Amseat on the frontier. At great distances to the south, the cases of Giarabub and dufra are held by strong Italian military and air forces.

### colitical.

Italian relidents in Libya agree that subsequent to the Pasciet to ime, there have been two marked political policies carried out. From 1924, to about 1935, the Italian public was led to believe that Libya contained great natural resources and could be developed into a rich and productive colony for the otherland. Sithin the past four years, the colonization scheme in Libya has received much less publicity, and it has gradually cole to be recognized that the colony will best serve as a strategic base in Italy's rediterranean and mast wirican pro Lam. Arshal Italo Baybo, the present Governor General, and the first to overn both Tripolitania and Circentles are the colony of Libya, is confining his main that to be are colony of Libya, is confining his main that to be are colony of Libya, is confining his main

. secist crops ands for years tended to show that a

maximum number of Italians who could live in Libya would never exceed 150,000. The final acknowledgement of this fact has undoubtedly influenced the Italian policy in last Africa within the past few years.

ian ambitions in africa that official wall posters issued and distributed by the Frees Bureau for the Tripoli Trade Fair in march 1937, showed a map of Africa with the Italian colors running across the entire northeast corner of the continent covering Tunisia, Libya, maypt, and thiopia. These posters were liven wide distribution in Libya and were received with enthusiasm by ardent Fascist followers.

and aeroplane across the coastal region of Libya in Larch 1957, accommand only by a group of international press correspondents and a few marty officials, is believed to be the beginnin of a new colonial policy. The Enerican news correspondents on the tour expressed the opinion to the writer that the Fremier's actions and statements while in Libya had indicated to them that he so the publicity principally for his announced new role as 'beforder of Islam' and for the greatly increased atrem the of the Italian ared forces in Libya.

there are a marked change in the imalgration policy.

italians were no longer permitted to emi, rate from Italy
althout first receiving permission from the colonial

. overnment

government -- and permits have been granted with strict control as to numbers and political affiliations of the applicants. There has also been a continuous series of deportations to Italy of those who settled in the colony during the administration of previous Governor Generals. Opportunity was taken during the Italo-Ethiopian conflict to deport nearly all the foreigners in the colony, many of whom had been residents there during the Turkish control.

The comparatively small number of civilians in the country gives the devernor General every opportunity to carry out his plan to make it a truly rescist colony. Undoubtedly, the strong hand of Fascism is more evident there than in Italy. Every detail of daily life is controlled by the Party and practically every means of extence is restricted to Party members. This, of course, has forced nearly all non-Party Italians and foreigners to leave.

Great attention is given to the careful distribution of official propagands. The two newspapers published in the country are subject to a strict censorship by the local officials, and any criticism — either written or verbal — of arshal Balbo's administration makes the offender liable to deportation or imprisonment. Private mail, either to or from Italy or other countries, is censored. Italian residents known to have any contact with foreigners, either in or out of the colony, are subject to special surveillance by the secret police. Earshal malbo himself, however, is always pleased to entertain lavishly

lavishly any foreign press correspondents who visit the colony, providing, of course, they are known to be favorably impressed towards his colonial activities.

There is no legislative or advisory council in the colony. Full powers rest with the Governor General who rules by issuing decrees and enforcing them. Many Italian laws are enforced in Libya but in most cases, the Governor General applies his own interpretation for local enigroement. This form of Government is a unique dictatorship with the Governor General responsible only to his superiors at some. The Marshal's will in the solony is enforced by the activities of at least five different corps of secret service men and large units of uniformed military police, "Carabinieri". hesidents discreetly complain of the espionage and counterespionage of the various units of police against one another and against the civilian and military population. Reedless to say, the residents are in a constant state of terrorism.

# DOCUMENT FILE NOTE

SEE 701-1465/3	FOR #6	<u> </u>
FROM Italy	Phillips ) D	ATED Nov. 18, 1937

REGARDING: Recognition of King of Italy as the Emperor of Ethiopia by Guatemalan Government on presentation of credentials by new Guatemalan Minister to Italy.

400.0

13.7.9.

ROME, November 18, 1939

No. 652

Subject: Presentation of Letters of Gredence by General Duran Mollinedo, Guatemalan Minister.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State, Vashington.

Sire

I have the honor to inform the Department that the King of Italy received in audience on November 16, 1937, General Euran Mollinedo, who presented his letters of oredence to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Sthiopia" as invoy Extraordinary and Minister Flenipotentiary of Guatemala. On this occasion the King was presented with the Hi hest Grade of the Order of Tuetzal, as a special mark of distinction on the part of Tresident Ubico.

In commenting upon this fact, the CICHNALS D'ITALIA
of November 17, 1937, states that "this descrition is the
first conferred by the Guatemalan Freedent and is destined
to the overeign of Italy, a nation with which Guatemala
maintains the best relations."

The same newspaper announces that on November 80, 1937, the new Guatemalan Minister will be received by the Duce at the Palazzo Venezia. At this time the Grand Cross of the Order of Guetsal will be conferred upon Mussolini "as a special sign of the great sympathy and sincere friendship" of the President of the Republic of Guatemala.

Respectfully yours,

William Fhillips.

Copy to :merican Legation, Guatemala.

GM/wrm

### NOTE

SEE 701.60h65	/9 FOR	#657			
	•				
FROM Italy	( Phillips )	DATED	Hov	19,19	37
то	NAME		t-1127	474	

REGARDING:

Recognition of King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia by Yugoslavia on presentation of credentials by the new Minister to Italy.

emc

ROME, November 19, 1937.

No. 657

Subject: Presentation of Letters of Gredence by Mr. Bosko Hristie, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Tugoslavia.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State, #ashington.

Sir

with reference to the Embassy's despetch No. 586 of September 28, 1937, I have the honor to inform the Department that Mr. Bosko Hristic presented his oredentials as known axtraordinary and Minister Senipotentiary of Tugoslavia to the "King of Italy and Amperor of Ethiopia" on November 16, 1937.

a statement made by the new Minister, which, in translation, reads as follows:

my letters of eredence to your August loversign, his Majenty the King and Emperor, Victor Emanuel III, I am happy to come into contact today with the Italian press.

appreciation for the cordial and kindly welcome which has been extended me in your great and beautiful country, which has, under the guidance of your great leader, Eusselini, achieved in so short a time prodigious progress in all spheres of human activity. I also greatly admire the development and embellishment of your femous capital. I am the more struck by this in that this is not my first visit to Italy, I having been here in 1924 at the time of the signing of the treaty of friendship between our two countries.

marked the beginning of a new and fortunate period of friendship, confidence, and good-neighbor relations between us, a thing which corresponds not only to the real interests of our two sountries but also to those of peace in general. The agreement signed in Relgrade by your eminent Forteign Minister, Count Ciano, and our rime Minister, Dr. Stoyadinovitch, marks the valuable continuation of the policy inaugurated thirteen years ago by our two great and illustrious statesmen, remite Musselini, and the late Nicola rechitch. This policy of friendship and trusting cooperation has already yielded tangible results in all spheres of our mutual relations.

For my part, I desire to assure you that all my modest efforts will work toward the consolidation and development of this policy of friendship and useful collaboration between our two neighboring countries. And for the purpose of achieving that end, I attach very special importance to the valuable scoperation which, I am sure, the Italian press will not fail to give me, and which will greatly contribute toward an increasingly profound mutual understanding and sincers 'rap; rochement' between our two peoples.'"

under a lienne date line that political circles in Belgrade ox, ect the Yugoslav rime Minister Stojadinovich to leave the Yugoslav capital for Rome on December 5 or 4, in order to re, my the vielt to Yugoslavia made in March of this year by the Italian Minister of Toreign Affairs, Sount Galenzse Giano.

Respectfully yours,

No.Y 1 mar.leg. Bullenans.

William shillips.

### DOCUMENT FILE NOTE

SEE	760b.65/760	FOR	despatch #35
FROM	Yucoslavia	(Lane) D/	ATEDNov.19, 1937
TO		NAME	1-1187 ere

REGARDING:

Accrediting of a minister to the King of Italy an Emperor of Ethiopia, does not, in the opinion of First Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, signify that Yugoslavia recognizes the conquest of Ethiopia.

### NOTE

SEE 740.00/241	FOR Tel.#14	7, noon
FROM Poland	( Biddle ) DATED	December 11, 1937
TO	NAME	1-1127 apa

REGARDING: Mussolini informed Hitler in reply to memorandum on Halifax-Hitler conversations, that he was not prepared to enter into European political conversations until Abyssinia was recognized, Germany granted colonies, and Franco Government recognized.

### NOTE

EE (41.600/43/	FOR	Tel 531- 5pm	
ROM Italy	( Phillips )	DATED D 0 2 2 3 , 1937	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
0	NAME	1-1127 000	

REGARDING:

Recognition of the Ethiopian Empire. Italy demanded, in connection with conversation with British Government, the, - but the British Government was willing to grant-only as part of a general settlement and insisted as a preliminary condition that there be a cessation of hostile propaganda and among the Arabs in particular.

### TELEGRAM RECEI

JAN 3 1938

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1 -- 1800

GRAY

FROM THE Hague

Dated December 31, 1937

Rec'd 9 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

125, December 31, noon.

Despatches covering Foreign Minister's approach to Oslo Government concerning de facto recognition of Abyssinian situation have gone forward in this week's pouch.

GORDON

RR:WWC

1651 - 1651

DEC'3 1 1937 N Philision of NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

### TELEGRAM RECEIVED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

МВо

A portion of this telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (B)

FROM

Copenhagen (part air)

Dated December 31, 1937

Rec'd 6:20 a.m., Jan. 3,

Scoretary of State,

Washington.

TYAND 1938 + 1938 + 1938 AND CONTRACTOR AFFAIRS

32, December 31, 5 p.m. (GRAY)

Netherlands Government having addressed communication to Danish King requesting Danish Government grant de jure recognition Italy's annexation of Abyssinia, no reply is forthcoming from the Danish Government yet. However, reliable press representative states that Danish Government will refuse such recognition following course of Norwegian Government already published. (END GRAY).

In conversation today with the Netherlands Minister here, Kattendyke, he stated confidentially Netherlands Government is certain to make such recognition alone if not followed by Oslo.

OWSLEY

RR:

### NOTE

SEE	701 <b>.41</b> d65/3	FOR	#699
FROM	Italy	( Phillips ) DATED	Dec. 16, 1937
<del>Ele</del> ck		NAME	1-1127 696

REGARDING:

Accrediting of a diplomatic representative by the Irish Free State to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia"; reports regarding same have been confirmed. Delay in appointment may occur due to necessity of having letter of credence of an Irish Free State envoy signed by the King of Great Britain whose Government has refrained from recognizing Italy's Ethiopian Empire.



# DOCUMENT FILE

# NOTE

SEE 701.2265/4	FOR #701		
FROM Italy	( Phillips ) DATED De	c. 16, 1937	

REGARDING:

Luis Antonio Penaherrera, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Phènipotentiary of Ecuador to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia" will present credentials within a few days. Delay in presentation of credentials was due to non-acceptance of letters addressed to "King of Italy and Emperor". New letters giving full title have now been received by Mr. Penaherrera.

Mgg

565 d. C/

# TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EUROPI ... JAN 1 1 1938 DEPARTMENT OF STATE Secretary of State,

Washington.

GRAY

HURRIM

1200 City 3 11 3 :K

Dated January 5, 1938

Rec'd 2:37 p.m.

18 1988

4, January 5, 6 p.m.

A communique has been published in the Informazione Diplomatica this Evening stating that the Italian Government appreciates the move which has just been initiated by the Netherlands Foreign Minister in respect to eventual recognition by the Oslo group of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia. While declaring that the Italian Government took no part in the Netherlands move the communique states that "Italy cannot but look with favor upon the normalization of diplomatic relations between those countries which do not have a regular representative in Rome".

The states that have already accorded de jure and de facto recognition as well as those who have accredited representatives to the King Emperor are listed. The United States is not mentioned.

JAN 18 1938

PHILLIPS

CSB

8650.01/340

No. 238

January 18 1938

To the

American Ambassador.

Rome.

telegram No. 4 of January 5, 1938, and particularly to the penultimate sentence, and requests the Embassy, if it has not already done so, to forward to the Department a copy of the list of states which, according to the official Italian communiqué, have recognized a change in the international status of Ethiopia.

NE: MBG/GC

24 EM

A 'ryal copy of
'the sysped original,

865D.01/340

14H 22 1988 FM

712571

# 865D.01/341

# DOCUMENT FILE NOTE

FROM Italy	( Phillips ) DATED	Jan.4,1938

REGARDING:

Existence of Ethiopia as part of Italy. Statement of Count Cinao during conversation with Lord Perth that the British Government would understand that Italy could not be approached intelligently until the British Government had recognized the, -.

. 19 P

EG
This message must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (B)

Rome
Dated January 4, 1938

Rec'd 1:40 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

2, January 4, 4 p.m.

My 531, December 23, 5 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

I have learned that on December 23rd the Italian Charge d'Affaires in London called upon Mr. Eden and presented a new Italian proposition which broadens the base of the proposed discussions between the two governments and which is now being given careful study in the Foreign Office. On January second under instructions Lord Perth informed Count Ciano that failure on the part of the British Government to respond promptly must not be taken for indifference on the part of the British Government; two or three weeks delay was necessary in order that the Italian formula might be given the utmost consideration. At this interview Count Ciano had explained that the boundary questions between Ethiopia and the Sudan and certain questions with regard to the Red Sea were after all matters which could be readily adjusted between the two governments but inasmuch 361/191116

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-2- No. 2, January 4, 4 p.m. from Rome

wold of

as both related to Ethiopia the British Government would understand that they could not be approached intelligently until the British Government had recognized the existence of Ethiopia as a part of Italy. Lord Perth feels that the frozen positions previously taken by both governments with respect to recognition on the one hand and the cessation of anti British propaganda by the Italians on the other hand had melted somewhat but it was not clear to him as yet just how far the melting process had gone. However, it would appear that the Italian initiative of December 23rd is welcomed by the British as a hopeful sign.

PHILLIPS

CSB

This message must be closely paraphrased be-

fore being communicated to anyone. (B)

E.G

Secretary of State, Washington.

7. January 7, 6 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM

Rome

Dated January 7, 1938





In spite of press reports to the contrary I learn that Vansittart has no intention of coming to Rome at. present.

From a conversation with my British colleague I gather that among the smaller European countries there is now a growing desire to improve their relations with Italy by recognition of the Empire, that this question will undoubtedly be discussed in Geneva at the time of the Council meeting but that developments in this direction depend to a great extent upon the attitude of the French Government.

PHILLI PS

CSB

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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE

### DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS



Netherlands Proposal to Extend de facto Recognition to Italian Sovereignty over Ethiopia.

U- M. Weller.

Foreign Minister Patijn has confirmed to Minister Gordon that he has proposed to the other Oslo Governments that they agree in in principle to accrediting envoys to "The King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia", while at the same time restricting their action to the extension of de facto rather than de jure recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia

Dr. Patijn said that though to officially hehad not been informed of any change in the Italian attitude just described, he had reason to believe that Italy might become more exigent if his negotiations did not reach a favo able

conclusion in a relatively short time.

Denmark and Morway at present have Ministers in Rome and are, therefore, not particularly interested. Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Finland, however, are at

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# **DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS**

present represented only by Charges d'Affaires a.i. and are interested in the development of a formula which will permit them to send Ministers to Rome, and at the same time not repudiate the League of Nations' position with regard to Italian recognition xal annex-

ation of Ethiopia.

Dr. Patijn said that none of the Oslo Governments have rejected his idea, though those with Socialist inclinations had to move cautiously. Norway had been least sympathetic, possibly because she had no need at present of accrediting a Minister to Rome, and Dr. Patijn thought that Foreign Minister Koht of Norway had been responsible for the press learning of the confidential negotiations. (Since the des atch was written, the press in Washington have stated that Norway has rejected Dr. Patijn's proposal).

Dr. Patijn said that Foreign Minister Spaak of Belgium, who was personally sympathetic to the idea and was trying to bring his party around, had said to him "Il faut en finir avec

cette farce-la ".

The Natherlands press has been, for the most part, unenthuciactic over the proposal and regretful that the Netherlands should have taken the initiative. a Catholic poper in Rotterdown alone enthusism.



109

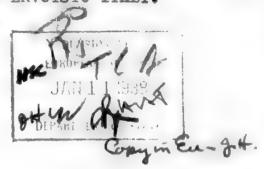
# LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Hague, Netherlands, December 22, 1937.

SUBJECT: NETHERLANDS' INITIATIVE FOR FINDING SUITABLE MEANS OF ACCREDITING NEW ENVOYSTO ITALY.

系





Thre

Honorable

The Secretary of State

Comy Fram Commorcial

Washington.

Sir:

FE3 DIVISION OF MEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

I have the honor to report that yesterday a member of the Legation staff, in the course of a conversation with an official of the Political Department of the Foreign Office, made inquiry concerning a report that had appeared in the NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSCHE COURANT, and other newspapers, of that day. The report in question was to the effect that the Netherlands Government had approached the various States belonging to the Oslo Group, with

re\_ard...

regard to drafting a formula which would make it possible for those States at present represented in Italy by Charges d'Affaires ad interim to accredit Ministers - in the case of Belgium an Ambassador - to the Quirinal.

The Foreign Office official stated that the press report referred to was correct in substance and that the Netherlands Government, or rather Dr. Patijn, had taken the initiative vis à vis the States of the Oslo Group with a view to having this question settled. He observed that the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden and Finland, due to the fact that they have no Ministers in Rome and cannot accredit any until the question of to whom letters of credence shall be addressed is cleared up, are particularly anxious that a way may be found to accept the Italian demand that all letters of credence be addressed to "The King of Italy and Emperor of Abyssinia", and at the same time not repudiate the League of Nations' position with regard to the Italian annexation of Abyssinia. The other two Oslo countries, Denmark and Norway, have at present Ministers in Rome and therefore are not particularly interested.

This official further observed that up to date the matter had gone no further than the holding of conversations. He said that he has no idea how the matter will work out but that Dr. Patijn is particularly keen to find a formula whereby the Netherlands,

without going back on the League of Nations, can accept the Italian demand for Empire recognition in letters of credence and send a Minister to Rome. Dr. Patijn is apparently of the opinion that this country is losing much by not having a Minister in Rome.

Today I called upon Dr. Patijn and asked him if he would give me a correct version of his approach to the other Oslo Conference Governments, concerning which various accounts had appeared in the press of the last two days.

Dr. Patijn confirmed that he had taken the initiative in sounding out the other Oslo Governments
and had proposed that they agree to the principle of
accrediting envoys to the King of Italy and Emperor
of Abyssinia, while at the same time formally restricting any recognition of the annexation of Abyssinia which
might be implied from such action to a de facto rather
than a de jure recognition.

manner he proposed to draw such a distinction so clearly that even Italy could not claim a de jure recognition from the accrediting of envoys in the fashion demanded by her, and whether such a distinction and restriction of recognition would be satisfactory to Italy. Dr. Patijn in reply said that he first should tell me that the reports that his action was taken at the request

or suggestion of Italy were quite erroneous and that such action was quite spontaneous. However, in discussing the matter with representatives of the Italian Government, he had been officially informed that if he would accredit an envoy to the King-Emperor, the Italian Government would not cavil if he were to state in the Dutch Parliament that such accrediting could and did mean nothing but a defacto recognition that authority over and in Abyssinia is actually exercised by the Italian Government, and that equally the latter Government would be disposed to accept a letter of credence which on its face recited similar restrictions upon recognition.

At this point I asked Dr. Patijn if he felt that
Italy would remain in this frame of mind if his negotiations did not come to a successful conclusion in a
relatively short time, to which he replied that it was
true that he had some reason to believe that Italy might
become more exigent, though officially he had not been
informed of any change in its attitude as he had just
described it to me.

Dr. Patijn said that while none of the Oslo Governments had rejected the idea, those in which Socialist influence was greatest were naturally most hesitant; for instance, the Bellian Government naturally had to move cautiously in the premises, though he said that when he had talked the matter over with Spaak, the latter was personally fully in agreement with the idea ("Il faut

en finir avec cette farce-la", Patijn quoted Spaak as saying to him) and was doing what he could to bring his party around to his point of view.

Dr. Patijn felt that the Norwegian Foreign Minister had been chiefly responsible for the press learning of what had been intended to be confidential negotiations, and I also gathered from his manner that the Norwegian Government - which, as indicated above, has at present no need of accrediting an envoy to Rome - had perhaps been the least sympathetic to his proposal. In any event, Dr. Patijn affirmed in conclusion that the question was still an open one and that discussions were continuing with the five Governments concerned.

Respectfully yours,

George A. Gordon.

File No. 701

In quintuplicate. GAG/JWB/mm.

P.S.

December 27, 1937.

During my conversation with Dr. Patijn above set forth, he said that a Communist member of the Second Chamber had interpellated him in the premises, and that he intended to make a brief written reply from which it would appear that what he had in mind was a recognition of the existing state of fact and not a condonation of Italy's action in overrunning Abyssinia. This reply has now been published, and, together with the interpellation, is transmitted herewith in translation.

Enclosure as stated.

J. a. f.

( over.)

P.P.S.

December 28, 1937.

Again since writing the foregoing, there has been published a further interpellation in the premises by Mr. Albarda, the Leader of the Social Democratic Labor Party in the Second Chamber, together with the Foreign Minister's reply thereto, which are herewith enclosed in translation.

8.2.4.

Enclosure as stated.

# enclosure no: I to despatch no: 109

American Legation, The Hague, Netherlands, December 27, 1937.

SOURCE: OFFICIAL.

Translation from "proceedings of the Second Chamber".

QUESTIONS submitted under date of December 22, 1937 by Mr. Wijnkoop (Communist member of the Second Chamber).

Is it true that the Netherlands Government has taken the initiative or steps in inducing the so-called Oslo States or at least some European Governments to recognize Italy's sovereignty over Abyssinia?

If this is so what is the reason that the Netherlands Government has taken such initiative while the great Powers which are members of the League of Nations thusfar always have refused such recognition because of the disadvantages attached to it?

Is not the Government of the opinion that, as the people of Abyssinia against its will has been deprived of its right of self-determination, such action on the part of the Netherlands leads to it that the independence of the small or weak States will be imperiled more than ever?

REPLY of Dr. Patijn, Minister of Foreign Affairs. (submitted December 24, 1937)

Some time ago the Government submitted to the Governments which have signed the Oslo Convention the confidential question whether they would feel inclined to take steps collectively with the Governments of Great Britain and France regarding the recognition de facto of the Italian occupation of Abyssinia. It was intended to ask the latter Governments whether they would feel inclined to proceed to this recognition and inform them that the Governments of the Oslo-States were planning to do this.

Not all of the Governments which were asked have determined their point of view. The consultation on this matter is still in progress.

The reasons which have moved the Netherlands Government to proceed to it are the following. The Italian occupation is a fact. By recognizing this fact the point of view adopted

at the time by the Government with regard to the war against Abyssinia is in no way abandoned. By the non-recognition the relation in respect to Italy, where the Netherlands is still not represented by a Minister, is injured. At the moment when the question was submitted to the other Oslo States Italy had not resigned as a member of the League of Nations and the Government cherished the hope that a recognition as intended might cause Italy to remain in Geneva. As must be assumed, the accomplished fact will have to be accepted some day. Contrary to the thought which seems to be fundamental in the question asked, the Government is not of the opinion that this must be delayed until the great Powers have given the example for it feels on the contrary that this would be less compatible with the national dignity.

Nor can the Government admit that its action would imperil the independence of small States. The latter has happened by the conquest which the Government has been unable to prevent. The Government fails to see that the acceptance of the fact of the conquest to which fact, as appeared from the abolition of the sanctions, also the League of Nations had to resign itself, would have detrimental consequences for other States.

# ENCLOSURE NO: 2 TO DESPATCH NO: 1 () 9 American Legation, The Hague, Netherlands, December 28, 1937. SOURCE: OFFICIAL. Translation from "proceedings of the Second Chamber". QUESTIONS submitted under date of December 23, 1937 by Mr. Albarda, Leader of the Social Democratic Labor Party in the Second Chamber. 1. If it is true that the Government entered into consultation with other Governments in order to remove certain difficulties with Italy is the Minister prepared to state which Governments he has approached with that purpose? 2. If these Governments do not include those of Great Britain, France and other nations which are members of the League, why did the Minister suppose that there was no need to comprise those in the consultation? 3. Is not the Minister of the opinion that the matter on which he entered into consultation should be treated collectively with all those Governments with which the Netherlands Government followed the same line of conduct ian conflict?

- in the League of Nations with regard to the Italian-Abyssin-
- 4. Has the initiative for the Minister's move been taken independently by the Netherlands Government or has it been the result of some request of the Government of Italy?
- 5. If the Minister merely had in view the purpose of being able, in common consultation with other Governments, to meet the Italian Government's desire that in the letter of credence of a Minister the title of Emperor of Ethiopia will be mentioned, is the Minister of the opinion that this title can be used without thereby recognizing de facto Italy's sovereignty over Abyssinia?
- 6. Does not the Minister suppose that the recognition of the conquest of Abyssinia would conflict with the moral principles which are incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Lations, and that such a recognition, without a resolution of the League of Mations, would damage the prestige of the Metherlands and also would conflict with the sentiments of the large majority of the Netherlands people?

REPLY of Dr. Patijn, Minister of Foreign Affairs. (Submitted December 27, 1937)

1. As regards the reply to this question, I may refer to the statements made on December 24, 1937 in replying to the questions regarding this matter asked by Mr. Wijnkoop, member of the Second Chamber of the States General.

- 2. The Government felt that it had to commence by consulting the Oslo States as to approaching the Governments of France and Great Britain.
- 3. A treatment, as suggested in the third question would mean again raising the subject for discussion in the League of Nations. Apart from the delay which would have resulted therefrom, the consideration also prevailed that by the abolishment of the sanctions the obligations under the Covenent of the League of Nations were exhausted in this case.
- 4. The initiative for the steps in question has been taken entirely independently and without any influence of third parties.
- 5. Undersigned is of the opinion that the use of the title need not imply the recognition of the sovereignty. Meanwhile it is intended to recognize the accomplished fact.
- 6. The recognition of this fact cannot be in conflict with any moral principle. If the undersigned were of the opinion that the recognition would damage the prestige of the Netherlands he would not have taken any steps in order to attain it.



# LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Hague, Netherlands, December 29, 1937.

SUBJECT: PRESS REACTION TO NETHERLANDS' INITIATIVE FOR FINDING SUITABLE MEANS OF ACCREDITING

NEW ENVOYS TO ITALY

DEPARTMENT S- STATE
1938 JAN 10 AM 11 51

MID Combon, Roma

The Henorable

The Secretary of State, JA!

Washington.

December 22, 1937, I have the honor to summarize briefly the reaction of the Netherlands press to Foreign Minister Patijn's initiative vis à vis the States of the Oslo group, with regard to the drafting of a formula which would make it possible for those States at present represented in Italy by Charges d'Affaires ad interim to accredit Ministers - in the case of Belgium an Ambassador - to the uirinal:

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The local newspapers have followed the matter carefully, and the reception accorded Dr. Patijn's initiative,
not only in the States of the Oslo group but in other
countries as well, particularly in Great Britain and France,
has been given much space and prominence. In addition, a
number of articles with comment as well as editorials have
appeared; they have been, for the most part, unenthusiastic
over the proposal and at the same time regretful that Dr.
Patijn should have seen fit to take the initiative.

The Socialist VOORUIT, as was to have been expected, is absolutely opposed to the Netherlands taking any action that might be construed as even tacit recognition of the Italian annexation of Abyssinia. This newspaper, in an editorial dated December 22, after severely criticizing the step taken by Dr. Patijn "entirely on his own initiative", observes that even conservative members of the States General have at times raised their voices to warn the Netherlands against taking too prominent a part in the work of Geneva.

"What Dr. Patijn is now attempting", continues this newspaper, "cannot in any way be construed as the strengthening of international law. The little Netherlands is taking the initiative in a step which it is hoped will give the usurper of Abyssinia the official recognition which he so passionately desires.

Even if one feels that the recently created situation will have to be accepted one day, it is not for the Netherlands to pull the chestnuts out of the fire on behalf of other countries. Dr. Patijn's initiative will result in the Netherlands becoming involved in a critical situation."

The Liberal ALGEMEEN HANDELSBLAD, which is published

- 3 -

in Amsterdam, in its issue of December 22, recognizes the importance of the step taken by Dr. Patijn, but at the same time believes that other States belonging to the Oslo group are not particularly interested. This newspaper questions whether the Netherlands should have taken the iniative.

"The news that Dr. Patijn has taken the initiative in this matter has not been received by everyone in the Netherlands with the same degree of enthusiasm. There are not many Netherlanders who are prepared to condone the wrong committed by Italy in 1935 and 1936. Therefore, only a few Netherlands will evince enthusiasm for Dr. Patijn's step."

The TELEGRAAF, of Amsterdam, in an article in its issue of December 21, is noncommittal, and so is the NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSCHE COURANT in an editorial in its issue of December 23 and in an article the following day. Only the Catholic MAASBODE, of Rotterdam, approves, albeit perhaps reluctantly and without enthusiasm, the conversations now taking place between the different States of the Oslo group, for the normalization of their diplomatic relations with Italy, and the initiative taken in the matter by Dr. Patijn. In its issue of December 23, this newspaper writes in part as follows:

"Frequently great wisdom consists in choosing the least of two evils, and we are now convinced that the liquidation of the difficulties with Italy is to be preferred to the continuation of a situation which is bound to lead (sic) to the most atrocious war in the world's history. It is for this reason that we hold the view that the Netherlands Government did well to take, and is continuing to take, the initiative. It is a question of saving all that can be saved."

Respectfully yours,

George A. Gordon.

File No. 701
In quintuplicate
JWB:ekd

# DOCUMENT FILE

# NOTE

SEE	701.1765/1	FOR	701.41	9am	
	.Ilcarages		DATED .	Jen_10	,1938
TO		NAME		1-1127	424

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian King as Emperor of Ethiopia by Nicaragua will take place upon appointment of new Nicaraguan Minister to Italy. Comment in this regard.

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A portion of this message Managua must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to Dated January 10, 1938 anyone. (C)

Rec'd 12:30 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

1, January 10, 9 a.m.

(GRAY) CONFIDENTIAL

Inquiry at the Foreign Office revealed that Nicaraguan recognition of the Italian King as Emptror of Ethiopia may take place shortly when the new Nicaraguan Minister to Italy presents his credentials. Nicaragua is very anxious to have a minister in Rome on account of coffee trade troubles, the importance of which was emphasized in the Minister's instructions. It was stated that his credentials were made out "to the Italian Government" but that it is presumed he will have to comply with Italian requirements when presenting them, which may mean recognizing the Italian position in Ethiopia. It was also stated that Nicaragua is not concerned about the form of presentation and is deeply concerned in having a minister in Rome to protect the important coffee interests.

-2- No. 1, January 10, 9 a.m. from Managua

The report transmitted in my telegram Number 186 dated December 27, 3 p.m. may have been the outcome of (END GRAY) somebody's deductions from a rumor concerning the above forthcoming event coupled with the coincidental shipment of an order of arms purchased (repeat purchased) by Nicaragua from Italy, which is due to arrive the 10th or 11th.

(GRAY) The above account of the matter, which is complete in essentials, will be supplemented by airmail despatches 787 and 788 which should arrive in Washington Tuesday morning. Subsequent to the writing of these despatches a brief telegraphic news despatch from Rome was published in local newspapers stating that the appointment of a Nicaraguan Minister to Italy is there interpretated as recognition by Nicaragua of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

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RR:CSB

# DOCUMENT FILE

# NOTE

SEE	701.5565/3	#108 FOR		
FROM .	Belgium	( Gibson )	DATED Dec. 18, 1937	
TO		NAME	1—1127 070	

REGARDING: Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by Belgium: Question of whether same is implied by address of letters of credence of new diplomatic representative to "the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia".

emo

Brussie, December 18, 1907

No. 108

Subject: Relgian diplomatic representation in Italy

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

inghiastas.

SATE

of the Ministerial declaration of the new James Government in the Senate, Count d' sprenorm 'graden, Cathelia, raised, nurse; other questions, that of Digian diplomatic representation in Italy. He pointed out that Frime Albert de ligne had returned from Italy on lower some mentic age and had since retired, and that it was therefore ungues that

the Belgian Government appoint a new Ambassador to Italy.

We pointed out that the difficulty by in the requirement of the Italian Government that the betters of credence of any newly appointed Ambassador be addressed to "the King of Italy and Superor of Sthiopia," He reised the quantion as to shother this was not merely a question of words and whether it really implied in any source approval of the new-quest of Sthiopia.

lie said that if the situation was allowed to drag on indefinitely there is always the danger of Selgium being at a disadvantage in its dealings with Italy. Byon enough thates belonging to the League of Sations there is a possiliar inequality of status. Great Britain, for instance, by the simple expedient of retaining her Anhaesador, had avoided raising the question of letters of credence and thus continued to enjoy full representation. Other comtrates have taken or are contemplating measurests restore normal relations. It is important that Selgium should not, through insistence on an entwern formality, jeopardise her our interests.

count d'Aspresent Lyndon added that he was not adveenting approval of the conquest of Abyesimia but that Belgium had already sent a consul to Addis Ababa, accepted by the Vice-toy. The League Powers had also signed the Fresty of Myon with the plenipotentiaries of the King of Italy, Reperor of Abyesimia.

In view of the foregoing, he asked the Government to examine the method of dealing with this irregular situation.

Respectfully yours,

MON GIRLOW

Pile No. 701

# DOCUMENT FILE

# NOTE

SEE	701.2265/5	FOR	1722		
FROM	Italy	Phillips )	DATED	Dec. 23,1937	
TO		NAME		1- 1197 BP0	

REGARDING:

Letters of credence of new Ecuadoran Minister to Italy addressed to "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia".

MEG

No. 722

ROME, December 23, 1937.

Subject: Ecuadorian Minister presents credentials.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

sir:

Supplementing my despatch No. 701 of December 16, 1937, I have the honor to report that Mr. Luis Antonio Peñaherrera presented on December 22, 1937, letters accrediting him as Minister of Ecuador to the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia.

Respectfully yours,

William Phillips.





# LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Stockholm, December 29, 1937.

Subject: The Oslo Powers and Ethiopia.



The Honorable

The Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.

I have the honor to lay before the Department as a side light upon Swedish opinion and Swedish foreign policy the substance of an article appearing in the NYA DAGLIGT ALLEHANDA (Conservative, Stockholm) of December 23, 1937, entitled "The Oslo Powers and Ethiopia" and commenting upon the Dutch initiative for the recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

The Netherlands Government, the writer states, has taken the initiative toward bringing about the recognition of Italian supremacy in Ethiopia by the Oslo Powers. The Swedish Government has stated that it has expressed certain opinions

opinions to the Netherlands Government and the desire to continue in touch with the other Oslo Powers so far as this matter is concerned. The Norwegian Foreign Minister has been less reticent and has let it be known that he considers the present moment inopportune for an appeal to the Great Powers. The writer feels that this question has been much in the minds of the Great Powers previous to this demarche by the Netherlands Government and that the Far Eastern situation has impressed them with the importance of bringing about a conciliation between the two Great Power Groups in Europe. Lord Halifax' visit to Germany and M. Delbos' tour in Eastern Europe are, the writer feels, two phases of the matter and he regards the invitation from the Hague Government as a third. He further feels that it would be exceedingly difficult, especially for Great Britain, which s tood in the forefront of the League action and the sanction measures against Italy to take the initiative for the recognition of the Italian conquest and that in searching for an agency less involved and less anti-Italian to act for the Western Powers the Netherlands has been chosen, the Netherlands being that member of the Oslo Group which on account of the Dutch East Indies has good reason to cultivate friendly relations not only with Italy but especially with Italy's confederate - Japan. Cooperation with Great Britain for the protection of the Dutch East Indies and the British Domains in the East is an excellent reason why the Netherlands should be obliging to Great Britain.

The writer continues that the Netherlands Government

has surely weighed matters carefully and found that Holland's interests were somewhat greater than those of the sacred and international order of justice. Holland, he feels, observes that the measures taken to safeguard the international order of justice have failed and that the whole question of the League is now without practical importance; that Italy will not return Ethiopia to Haile Selassie and will continue her course whether her conquest is recognized or not.

The question is not quite so simple, however, for the other Oslo Powers. These, the writer thinks, have every reason for staying with the League as long as possible and there is no incentive for them to recognize a conquest accomplished merely by strength and force. The next conquest, he feels, may even concern one of the Oslo Powers. Not one of them, he states, has any direct interest in Eastern Africa, that is Ethiopia, but nevertheless for idealistic reasons they took part in the sanctions against Italy notwithstanding the great economic sacrifices involved. What they wished to do was to assist in the effort to put a term to the conquering lust of a Great Power and they underlined more firmly than anyone else the sanctity of international obligations. Yet here they are invited to take part in a measure solemnly confirming an act of international injustice. No, the writer concludes, let us keep some vestage of honesty and right. The Oslo Powers have but one course to follow - that of an international order of justice. They did not initiate the sanctions against Italy, it does not rest with them to initiate a retreat from their previous stand. Those

who should make a beginning towards the recognition of Italy's supremacy in Ethiopia and the handling of the questions growing out of it are the Great Powers who now wish to compose differences in Murope in order to be in a better position to meet the difficulties arising in China. They from the beginning have been the ones responsible.

The Swedish Government's statement concerning its position in view of the Dutch Government's demarche is merely an act of international politeness but it must not and cannot be interpreted as expressing any hesitation as to the Swedish policy. The Swedish nation, the writer maintains, is not willing to sacrifice its ideals or its opinions for the sake of Great Power interests and it may be presumed that this is also the attitude of the Swedish Government.

Respectfully yours,

Fred Morris Dearing

In quintuplicate
File No. 800
FMD:EJ

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# EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



ROME, December 31, 1937.

No. 734

Subject: Italian Press reaction to Dutch move toward recognition of Abyssinian conquest.

JAN 2 5 1938

Consin en

DEFARTMENT OF STAIL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Vis May

MBG. I STON OF

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Italian press in general while devoting considerable space to the recent statements of Dr. Patyn, the Dutch Foreign Minister, concerning the possibility of recognizing the Abyssinian conquest, has not indulged in much editorial comment.

The general tendency has been to reproduce Dr. Patyn's remarks verbatim, particularly emphasizing those in which the conquest of Abyssinia was described as an accomplished fact, and to praise the realism and good sense shown by Holland.

The POPOLO D'ITALIA, however, Signor Mussolini's paper, managed to link up the question with the Bari anti-British broadcasts. The remarks of Dr. Patyn, stated

the POPOLO, openly and clearly admitted the necessity for recognizing the Italian conquest of Ethiopia in order to improve relations with Italy. That was the main point, continued the POPOLO, and it was not the Bari broadcasts or polemics in the Italian press that obscured the horizon. The Bari broadcasts merely stated facts, while if the Italian press was violent, the British press was equally so. In short, the Italian press merely reflected an actual situation. The real issue at bottom, concluded the POPOLO, was the refusal in certain quarters to recognize the legitimate colonial interests of Italy and the conquest of Ethiopia which was an accomplished fact.

As of possible further interest in connection with the possible recognition by Holland of the Abyssinian conquest, it is reported that Count Ciano two days ago in conversation with a reliable foreign press correspondent, said that he was very pleased with the Dutch initiative, that he had expected it, and that although Dutch recognition was not an accomplished fact, he was confident that it would be so very shortly.

Respectfully yours

William Phillips.



Hull Refuses to Recognitive Victor Emmanuel as Emperor of Ethiopia

## FORMULA TO CIRCLE STALEMATE SOUGHT

# Washington Cites Rome's Other Treaties Omitting King's Rank

Washington, Jan. 11 (49) — The United States' refusal to recognize King Victor Emmanuel of Italy as Emporer of Ethiopia has resulted in suspension of the Italo-American negotiations for a commercial treaty.

Informed sources said Mussolini required the new treaty to be made in the name of Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia and that Secretary of State Hull refused.

Negotiations they said would

Negotiations, they said, would now lapse for some months, during which the situation may be clarified.

The stalemate occurred suddenly when negotiations were proceeding excellently. Practically all obstacles had been removed and the two countries had already agreed to an ad interim understanding, announced last month, whereby Italy retreated from her closed economy position to the traditional most-favored-nation treatment.

Officials here are at a loss to

understand Mussolini's insistence, in view of the fact that commercial treatics were made by Italy with other countries in 1936 and 1937 without bringing in Victor Emmanuel's rank as Emperor of Ethiopia.

Mussolini now demands that the preamble to the treaty specifically state that Foreign Minister Count Galeazzo Ciano is making it in the name of his Imperial Majesty, Victory Emmanuel, King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia. It would also be signed by Ciano as the representative of the King and Emperor.

The United States, it is learned,

tried through Ambassador Phillips in Rome to insert in the treaty a paragraph to the effect that the United States's signature of the pact was not to be construed as a recognition, de facto or de jura of the Italian Ethiopian Empire. Mussolini refused.

It was hoped here that some formula might be found to get around the stabmate. The precedent was cited for the accrediting of Ambassador Phillips to Italy in 1936, and of Ambassador Fulvio Puvich to the United States.

1936, and of Ambassador Fulvio Puvich to the United States.

Particle occasion the customary pappreval of Phillips y the United States to Emmanuel, without is title of Emperor

ig and Emperor

January 12th, 1938.

38 JAN Secretary of State 3

on, D.C.

18

Ey dear Secretary:

COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS Enclosed please find clipping from the Wilkes-Barre Record issue of Vednesday morning, January 12, 1938. You deserve much credit for failing to recognize Victor Emmanuel as Emperor of Ethiopia, also for the wisdom displayed in the negotiations you have made in connection with trade agreements.

If convenient kindly remember me to Rep. Doughton to whom the writer is under many obligations in connection with my election and service in Congress.

ccb/e

DILEARIMENT OF

DIVISION OF

NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

ClBowman

Calle

8650.01/350

 $\Omega$ 

In reply refer to ME 865D.01/350

Mr. C. C. Bowman,

119 William Stropt,

Pittston, Pennsylvania.

Sir:

The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of January 12, 1937, commenting favorably upon certain details of the Department's policies as reported in the press. These expressions of support are much appreciated.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

Wallace Murray, Chief, Division of Mear Eastern Affairs

N 19 1938.PM

NE MBG/EG

86525.01

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Section to congratulate & Fate Department on its

Rechain to continue to refuse to recognize, we by implication, the Italian conquest of atherpia. May Jaleauge the recessity of refraining from arguing any trade agreements with Dermany. Haly, and Japan he aggreenors who are is and angering our peace. Why not we trade partie as a democratic instrument for quarantining these trady breaking retions? We must not yield to these Fraisit countries on any point less we knowing them to range more timber.

My more timbery.

My more thintony.

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MEDALLINATION IN A

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Morris U. Shappen 469 West N3 Freel New York, n.y. RECEIVED S FOR ADDRESS 1938 JAN Ser Alle good State Condell Hule Washington, D. E. COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

In reply refer to ME 865D.01/351

Mr. Morris U. Schappes,

469 West 143rd Street,

New York, New York.

Sir:

The receipt is acknowledged of your communication of January 14, 1938, commenting favorably on certain details of the Department's policies. These expressions of support are much appreciated.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

Wallace Murray Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs

ME: MBG/GG

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5

#### NOTE

SEE	1.3365/6	FOR	#128	
FROM	Uruguay	()	DATED	Jan. 4, 1938
то		NAME		1-1187

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian sovereignty in Ethiopia by
Uruguay: Hesitancy in appointment new Minister to
Italy due to issuance of credentials to the King of
Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia. President not averse
thereto, but Minister of Foreign Relations objects.

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#### NOTE

SEE 500.0	00 1/1317	FOR De	p. <b>(181</b>	
FROMF	inland	(Schoenfeld)	DATED Dec. 22, 1937.	
то		NAME	11127 ere	
REGARDING	Annexation of	Ethiopia by Italy.	Minister Helsti referred to regarding an alleged Demarche	
	by the Netherlands (	Government, on bely to the British and	alf of all the so-called Oslo French Governments looking	1

#### NOTE

SEE 817.24/361 Oom	dential At FOR Des. 27	87
FROM Nicaragua	(Castleman) DATED	Jan. 8, 1938
TO	NAME	1-1127 epo

REGARDING: Recognition of Ethiopia.

Quotes a telegraphic despatch from Rome as published in a local newspaper to the effect that Rumania has recognised the Italian Empire on accrediting its new Minister to the King Emperor. It also stated several American countries will recognise the Empire, among them be Venesuela, Guatemala and Nicaragua.

### NOTE

SEE82	71.4016 Jews/53	FOR Telef	- 4pm	
FROM	Rumania	( Gunther ) DATED	Jane 8, 1938	•••
REGARDING	Ministers har Government	uest of Ethiopia. Both to ve definitely opposed the of Italian conquest of Et an Minister to King of a	s recognition thing this by the	by Rumanian

#### NOTE

SEE858	.00 P. R./260	FOR Despe	œ	
FROMSwg	den	( Dearing ) DATED	Dec. 30, 1937	650.01
REGARDING:	Italy's supropublished in ment had tak	emacy in Ethiopia. Press Stockholm papers stated to con the initiative towards	telegram from the Hacue that the Netherlands Gov bringing about joint	vern-G

Western Powers to recognize, -.

on part of so-called Oslo Powers in an endeavor to induce the

#### 1. THE OSLO PO ERS AND I PALY:

A press telegram from The Hague, published in the Stockholm newspapers on December 22, stated that the Netherlands Government had taken the initiative toward bringing about joint action on the part of the so-called Oslo Powers in an endeavor to induce the Western Powers to recognize Italy's supremacy in Ethiopia.

The Swedish Foreign Office, when approached in the matter by the T.T. News Agency, stated that as a result of a proposal made by the Netherlands Government for the purpose of facilitating diplomatic relations with Italy, the Swedish Government had thus far merely expressed certain opinions in the matter to the Netherlands Government and a desire to communicate with the other Oslo Powers in order to ascertain their attitude toward the proposal. (See the Legation's despatch No. 135 of December 29, 1937.)



### EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Lot of a sid

ROME, January 7,

A D

No. 742

Subject: Recognition of Italian Sovereignty

over Ethiopia.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

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CHITARY OF STATE

The Honorable

The Secretary of State, Washington.

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Sir:

With reference to my telegram No. 4 of January 5, 6 p.m., I have the honor to quote below the text of the communiqué published in the INFORMAZIONE DIPLOMATICA No. 11 on January 5, 1938:

"The initiative of the Netherlands Government for the recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia and the declarations with which Mr. Patiyn has recently explained the matter are considered in responsible Italian quarters as proof that it is possible to clarify and simplify

this

this problem when it is raised, on the basis of reality and good sense, as the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs has done.

"The Italian Government, as has been noted, is an absolute stranger to the Netherlands initiative. It is not the practice and it is not the intention of the Italian Government to solicit from anyone under any form the recognition of the Empire; but as is natural, it has always shown itself appreciative of amicable gestures, of which this recognition has spontaneously offered proof, and for its part (Italy) cannot but look with favor upon the normalization of diplomatic relations between those countries which do not have a regular representative in Rome.

"There are, besides, numerous states which in Europe and outside of Europe have proceeded formally to de jure recognition of the Empire and have accredited their representatives in Rome to the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia, and have recognized the exercise of our sovereignty over the territory of the former Abyssinian Emperor.

"De jure recognition of the Empire has been made formally by the following countries: Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Yugo-slavia, Albania and Spain, and outside of Europe, by Japan, Manchukuo and the Yemen, to which states Poland may be added since this country has stated at Geneva that it considers the Italo-Ethiopian question as closed.

"The following countries have accredited their representatives in Rome in the name of His Majesty the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia: Chile, Panama, Guatemala, Ecuador, Ireland and Nicaragua.

"Other states have informed the Italian Government that they are disposed to do so in the near future.

The following countries have recognized de facto the exercise of Italian sovereignty over the territory of the former Abyssinian Emperor: England, France, Belgium, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Iran, Peru and Haiti.

"As will be seen, the problem which, due

to the much appreciated initiative of the Netherlands Government, is today being discussed among the Powers of the so-called Oslo group, is to be considered as in great part resolved, and if there are states which do not believe themselves in position to confront and resolve this question, this will not be considered an affront to Italy."

I have talked with some of my colleagues and foreign newspaper correspondents here and I find them in general agreement that the communiqué has no especial political significance. It merely serves to show the Italian Government's conviction that the question of recognition is not entirely theoretical since a large number of states have taken steps to acknowledge what is already a fact.

In this connection the GAZZETTA DEL POPOLO in commenting on this communiqué on January 6, 1938, states in part:

"Italy does not hold it necessary that any country should recognize the Empire. Such necessity might have existed while Italy was a member of the League of Nations and in fact the Fascist Government conditioned its return to activity within the League upon the question of League recognition, or at least upon the declaration that Tafari be declared to have ceased to exist as Emperor of Ethiopia, but now that Italy is outside the League, these reasons are lacking.

"The communique in the INFORMAZIONE DIPLOMATICA does not solicit recognition from anyone but exposes clearly and serenely the Italian attitude toward this question and shows how Italy considers the Netherlands initiative. The number of states that have recognized the Empire de jure is continually increasing. It is superfluous indeed to add that the absence of any precocupation arises also and principally from the fact that fascist Italy is fully equipped to defend the Empire against any and all possible foreign aggression and that the internal situation, far from being upset as is periodically announced in certain

malicious foreign newspapers (the specific reference here is probably to a letter which appeared in the London TIMES on January 4 from the Times Gibuti correspondent): it is peaceful and may easily be controlled in any event by the armed forces which have been placed in various centers.

"Certainly we are grateful and obliged to those who have recognized the Empire, but we will not cry, much less live in anxiety over those governments who have not yet decided.

"The communiqué furnishes also in a certain way a timely opportunity to verify the international situation given the importance which has been attributed to recognition of the Empire among the complex questions which arise in relations between European states. The communiqué gives to the question of recognition its real value without stressing its significance but without underrating its importance."

The Department has already been informed in my despatch No.741 of January 7, 1938 that the day following the publication of the communique, Rumania officially announced its intention to accredit its new Minister to the King Emperor.

Respectfully yours,

William Phill ba

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#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

#### **DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS**

M. S. M. S. IY. bulls

January 25, 1938



Netherlands Initiative to Find Means of Accrediting New Envoys To Italy

There has been considerable discussion in The Hague as to how fully Foreign Minister Patijn's denial that his action was instigated by Italy should be accepted. While he continues to deny unequivocally that Italian initiative had anything to do with his action, it is possible that a good dear of indirect personal suggestion had been brought to bear upon him - in this connection it is noted that he was recently Minister at Rome, and while there he and his wife are reported to have been considerably influenced by Mussolini.

Puring several hours of debate in the first Chamber Dr. Patijn made the interesting statement that the fundamental reason for his initiative was not the disadvantage of having no Minister in Rome, but rather a desire to lessen the general tension in Europe. While this statement has led to speculation as to whether some Power other than Italy, England for example, was behind the Dutch initiative, Government and other well informed circles insist that this is not the case.

Pr. Patijn recently to d Er. Gordon that since the original inopportune disclosure of his negotiations came from an anonymous article a pearing in the weekly HAAGSCHE 10 T

#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

#### DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

-2-

of December 18, and is now known to have been written by the French Socialist deputy Solomon Grumbach, he presumed that he must draw the inference that the French Socialists were doing what they could to obstruct his efforts. In any event Dr. Patijn did not see how there could be any chance in the near future of France being willing to accord to Italy the recognition she desires. The French Government had confined itself to asking Dr. Patijn to give it reasonable advance notice should the Netherlands determine to accord de facto recognition.

Dr. Patijn said that he had no definite or official news as to the reports of increasing British inclination to accord recognition, but felt that the British Government would like to take this step as soon as it could be done without causing too great a shock to public

opinion.

or Patijn is optimistic of gaining eventual Belgian support for his proposal, as well as that of the other Oblo governments. (Reports from Oslo, Comenhagen, and Helsinki, seem to indicate that, for the present at least, Dr. Patijn is somewhat too optimistic. The North on countries are believed to be awaiting some move by Engl nd or France, and unwilling to take any initiative themselves, either individually or as a group).

Mr. Gordon does not believe it probable, though possible, that the Farliamentary Aux Committee attacks on Dr. Patijn will continue

to the point of forcing his resignation.

Pres: comment in the Netherlands ap ear. to be in the main against Dr. Patijn's

#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

#### DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

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proposal, with a limited scattering of luke-warm or relictant approval.

M

Eu: Cumming

#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

January 28, 1938

In connection with the enclosed, it may be interesting to note that Grumbach, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, is not only a French Socialist but is known to be one of the senior members of the French Secret Service and has the most intimate dealings with the Quai d'Orsay. During the war , as a German Speaking Alsatian he played a prominent part in secret service operations against Germany, and at the present time he is used to leak information which the Quai wishes to become public.



#### LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

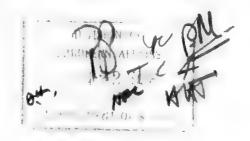
The Hague, Netherlands, January 12, 1938.



SUBJECT:

NETHERLANDS INITIATIVE FOR FINDING SUITABLE MEANS OF ACCREDITING NEW ENVOYS TO ITALY





Sand Edward

CONFIDENTIAL AS NOTED

2

MOER SECTIONARY OF

MR. WELLE

The Honorable

Sir:

16 PABI

The Secretary of State.

Washington.

With reference to the Legation's despatches Nos. 109 of December 22 and 29, respectively, dealing with the above-mentioned subject, I have the honor to report that yesterday afternoon in the First Chamber the leader of the Social Democratic Labor Party, K. Vorrink, interrellated the Foreign Minister upon his approach to the other Oslo Conference Governments with respect to recog-

nition of the Italian occupation of Abyssinia.

This interpellation was a much more substantial matter...

matter than the exchange of written questions and replies on the occasions of the interpellations of the Communist and Social Democratic members of the Second Chamber, Wijnkoop and Albarda, reported in the postscripts to my despatch No. 109. As an accompaniment to his formal questions, Mr. Vorrink spoke at some length in criticism of the Foreign Minister's action, to which Dr. Patijn replied, in addition to submitting his formal answers to the interpellation. Various other members of the First Chamber then joined in the debate which lasted for several hours, and during the course of which the Foreign Minister felt called upon to reply to more than one of his critics. The formal questions and answers of Mr. Vorrink and of the Foreign Minister, together with a summary of the debate, are transmitted herewith as enclosures. From a perusal thereof it will be noted that during the course of the debate the Foreign Minister made the interesting statement that the fundamental reason for his initiative was not the disadvantage of having no Minister at Rome, but rather a desire to lessen the general tension in Europe. This passage has naturally already led to speculation as to whether some Power - other than Italy - England, for instance, was behind the Dutch initiative, but Government and other well-informed circles continue to insist that this is not the case.

#### Confidential

quite aside from yesterday's interpellation, Dr. Patijn's action has naturally been the subject of much animated discussion...

discussion during the past fortnight and there has been considerable speculation as to how fully his denial that his action was taken at the request or suggestion of Italy should be accepted. Some are completely sceptical in the premises, while others accept Dr. Patijn's statement as made in complete good faith, and it must be noted that the Foreign Minister continues to this day to asseverate unequivocally that Italian initiative had nothing to do with his action. In between there is the view that while there are perhaps no traces of official Italian initiative, it is probable that a good deal of at least indirect personal suggestion had been brought to bear upon Dr. Patijn; in this connection it is claimed that while he was Minister in Rome both he and his wife were considerably influenced by Mussolini, and it is even alleged that Madame Patijn was particularly in favor of his taking this present step.

In a recent conversation with me the Foreign Minister said that, inasmuch as the original inopportune disclosure of his negotiations in the weekly HAAGSCHE POST of December 18 - reproduced two days later in the NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSCHE COULANT - came from an anonymous political commentator whom even the POST no longer denied was the Socialist French deputy Solomon Grambach, he presumed he must draw the inference that the French Socialist Party was doing what it could to obstruct his efforts. (On the other hand, a prominent and well-informed Dutch newspaper man has stated that he knows that Grumbach received a large sum for this article and that he wrote it for this reason alone; this informant felt sure

that if French Socialist politics were behind it, he could not have failed to know it. The Patijn version of the matter seems the more plausible.) In any event, in view of present Franco-Italian relations, quite aside from the composition of the present French Government, he did not see how there could be any chance in the near future of France being willing to accord Italy the recognition she desires; the appointment of M. de Saint-Quentin as Ambassador in Washington tended somewhat, he thought, to confirm this view. All the French Government had said to him in the premises, Dr. Patijn added, was to ask him to give them reasonable edvance notice if the Netherlands Government reached a decision to accord de facto recognition.

As to reported increasing British inclination to accord recognition, Dr. Patijn said that he had no definite or official news, but that his feeling was that the British Government would like to take this step as soon as it could be done without causing too great a shock to public opinion.

As regards Belgium, Dr. Patijn said that in spite of Socialist opposition, as particularly exemplified by M. Vandervelde, he had good hopes that the Government would ultimately pronounce itself in favor of his proposal. In conclusion the Foreign Minister said that conversations with the Oslo group Governments were still continuing and that on the whole he thought the chances were in favor of his plan eventually meeting with approval.

In connection with the foregoing concluding remarks, it should be noted that in some circles here it is felt that when...

when the Second Chamber reconvenes the attacks upon Dr. Patijn will be resumed with increasing intensity, to the point even where his resignation may be brought into question. In reporting such expressions of opinion, I think I should add that I am not inclined to agree therewith, as while such a development is of course possible I do not consider it probable.

Respectfully yours,

George A. Gordon.

File No. 701

Copy to:

Embassy London Embassy Paris

Legation Oslo Legation Stockholm Embassy Rome Legation Copenhagen Embassy Brussels Legation Helsinki

#### Enclosures:

1. Interpellation

2. Summary of Debate

In quintuplicate

GAG/ekd

American Legation, The Hague, Netherlands, January 12, 1938.

SOURCE: TELEGRAAF, Evening Edition, January 11, 1938.

#### TRANSLATION

#### MR. VORRINK'S INTERPELLATION IN THE FIRST CHAMBER

Mr. Vorrink's Formal Questions.

- 1. If one adopts the point of view, as the present Cabinet does, that the Netherlands in international policy must content itself with a modest part, must not the move made visà-vis the Oslo States be regarded as conflicting with this point of view?
- 2. What practical difficulties are a consequence of the fact that the Netherlands is represented in Rome only by a Secretary of Legation? Are these difficulties greater or of a nature other than for countries which are in similar circumstances?
- 3. Suppose that the Oslo States should have agreed to the Netherlands initiative, how did or how does the Minister exactly envisage the form of the diplomatic procedure vis-à-vis the governments of Great Britain and France?
- 4. Has the Government adequately realized the impression which the initiative in question would make upon the native population of the Overseas Territories?
- 5. Has not the Minister, when he stated that after the abrogation of sanctions obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations were exhausted, overlooked the League's resolution of 1932 not to recognize a conquest by violence, as well as the tenor of the wishes expressed in the meeting of the League of Nations of July 1936?
- 6. Is not the Minister of the opinion that the granting of a title never can have the significance of a recognition de facto but on the contrary must be regarded as a typical recognition de jure?
- 7. Must not the assertion made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in his reply of December 27, last, to Mr. Albarda's questions, that a recognition of a fact cannot be in conflict with any morel principle, be considered as contradictory with the basic principles of the present Cabinet?
- the League of Mations, are conducting against the League and its principles imply an incentive to those States which are members of the League to maintain as vigorously as possible the principles of the League and not to allow themselves to be intimidated by this action?

Is not the Letherlands initiative in the present matter

incompatible therewith?

- 2 -Minister Patijn, beside whom Dr. Colijn occupied a seat on the Government benches, gave the following formal reply. The move toward the Oslo States was calculated to result, in collaboration with these States which in recent years have been customarily consulted on all points involving common interests, in steps vis-à-vis France and Great Britain with a view finally to achieve a regularization of relations with Italy. I do not agree that this would go beyond what the Netherlands can permit itself in the domain of international policy. The cooperation with the other Oslo States which was sought in this matter surely shows the absence of any tendency to push ourselves to the fore. Here there is the question of the same practical difficul-2. ties which lead every nation to assign diplomatic representatives of higher rank as heads of Missions in foreign countries and not to content themselves with having these posts filled by Secretaries of Legation. It is hard for the Government to judge whether the difficulties resulting from the lack of a Minister in Rome are greater for the Netherlands than for countries which are in similar circumstances. The procedure with regard to the governments of Great Britain and France and the precise form thereof naturally depend upon the results of the consultation which is now in progress with the Oslo States. 4. The Government can hardly believe that its initiative would make an undesirable impression upon the native population of the Overseas Territories, and so far there is nothing from which this would appear. The Government is prepared to recognize an undeniable fact (that of the occupation of Abyssinia by Italy and the Italian supremacy over the former country). The Government's intention has no wider scope. In determining its attitude it took fully into account all pronouncements of meetings of the League of Nations which might apply to the matter. The significance of granting a title to the Head of a foreign State is determined by what the government which grants the title thereby intends. It may be merely a matter of courtesy, it may also signify a recognition de facto or a recognition de jure. Therefore the granting of a title is not a typical recognition de jure. 7. As the recognition of a fact does not imply moral approval of the acts which led to the creation of the fact, the recognition lies beyond the domain of moral principles. It therefore cannot be understood how such a recognition may be regarded as bein contradictory to the basic principles of the present labinst, the nore so as by abstaining from the recognition one does not cause the fact to be undone. The Government is of the opinion that it is its duty to caintein the principles of the League of Nations wherever this is possible. The initiative of the Metherlands Government in the present matter does not conflict therewith.

American Legation, The Hague, Netherlands, January 12, 1938.

SOURCE: TELEGRAAF - Evening Edition, January 11.

1938.

#### TRANSLATION.

SUMMARY OF THE DEBATE.

Mr. Vorrink's explanatory remarks.

In commenting on his questions, Mr. Vorrink said that in the exchange of views on the subject between the Second Chamber and the Minister the latter had been rather sphinx-like. Speaker wished to know whether the Minister had already taken steps vis-à-vis the Oslo States before the budget debates took place in the Second Chamber when the Minister said that he was meditating means of improving the situation. Is it possible that Dr. Colijn, as Minister of Foreign Affairs ad interim, took the initiative in this matter already at the end of September? There is also a reason now for uneasiness about a change in our foreign policy. Speaker mentioned in this connection the sensational interview with Dr. Colijn on New Year's eve, concerning the position of the League of Nations. The Netherlands cannot permit itself an adventurous policy which the Minister admitted when he said that we, as a small nation, must be cautious in our foreign policy.

Speaker failed to understand why we are in such a hurry to recognize the Emperor of Ethiopia. It is known that a persistent guerilla war is in progress in Abyssinia and that authority there can be only maintained by means of violence. The statutes of the annexed territory have not been defined yet and Italy even feels in favor of Hailie Selassie's return under certain conditions. Abyssinia is still a member of the League of Nations and internationally there is no single reason for proceeding to the recognition of the Empire.

Also nationally, in our own interest, there is no single reason for the Netherlands to make such haste.

The Netherlands is not the only country having no Minister in Rome. The Netherlands has to avoid, above anything else, a cooling off in the relations with Great Britain and France, the Powers to which we will in all probability have to appeal should we be menaced at any time. The Netherlands must not do anything that might

hamper France and Great Britain in their struggle against the extortionist policy of the fascist States. The radio propaganda of Italy in Arabia and of Germany in the Netherlands Indies should not be underestimated and the Government will have especially to watch the Netherlands position in the Indies: an Oriental people has been attacked by a western nation and what will the native people in our Indies say were we to recognize this violence?

It is conceivable that an international criminal desires to obliterate as soon as possible the recollection of an unlawful conquest and therefore is trying hard to obtain official recognition. A defacto recognition cannot always be avoided but the title of Emperor for Italy's King would, nevertheless, imply a recognition of the juridical principles. The Netherlands would hereby sanction the occupation of Abyssinia.

It may be stated that the Netherlands initiative has met with a cool reception in the other Oslo States. It is indeed strange that a small country like the Netherlands wishes to lead in a policy which purposes to bring the western and northwestern democracies on their knees before fascism. Speaker said he did not understand the point of view of our Government with regard to the principles of international law, which he condemned, and he said that the Netherlands is apparently slipping into the morass of scepticism with regard to the League of Nations.

TELEGRAAF - Morning Edition, January 12, 1938, (Parliamentary Editor).

Dr. Patijn's remarks on the Abyssinian question in the First Chamber on January 11, 1938.

The Minister stated that the outline given by the interpellator of the preliminaries was no more in agreement with the reality than many other views. The sounding of the Oslo States was not an official step. That is why speaker had to be somewhat sphinx-like in the Second Chamber. It was not Dr. Colijn who sounded the Oslo States; it did not happen that long ago.

The title of Emperor already dates back from nearly two years ago. Should a de facto recognition be decided

on there is no question of a break with our traditional policy. Why should we, with our 70 millions of people, wait for permission from Great Britain and France? A strong policy of independence has always been pursued by us.

There really is a factual Empire in Abyssinia and one cannot always simply refuse to see such a fact. Minister Sandler has also recognized already that Abyssinia no longer exists. The paper of interpellator's party wrote in the same sense as early as August 1937.

We still recognize the Spanish government though the rule there is not very real anymore.

As to the progress of the correspondence with the Oslo States which is still going on the Minister could not make any statements at present. There is no question of a put-up job with France for instance.

There is no need to fear an unfavorable impression in the Indies. There was no evidence of it. There is no controversy here between white and colored people for Abyssinia has been conquered mainly by colored troops.

The present League of Nations is no longer like it was in 1932. Since then quite a few things have happened.

Professor de Savornin Lohman: That is true!

Together with the other so called ex-neutral states the Minister continued - the Netherlands made in 1936 the well known reserve with regard to all obligations under the Covenant of the League.

The Netherlands never accepted the unhappy thought of the Stimson doctrine. One should not attach too much value to a title; the former Portuguese kings called themselves also "Seigneur de la conquête de la navigation et du commerce de l'Ethiopie." (Hilarity) So a number of double titles are known in history.

Neither a recognition de jure, nor a recognition de facto imply a moral approbation. As regards the former one thinks of greater stability. Here there is only the question of a sober matter of fact establishment of a factual situation of the moment.

One must not confuse sentimental considerations with principles. What the Netherlands Government would like to do is not in conflict with Christian principles. It would be untrue to refuse to see the reality, the Minister concluded.

Mr. Vorrink, in his reply, regretted that the Minister

did not wish to say more about the negotiations. On the part of Norway and Finland a fair amount of publicity has already been given to this matter.

Speaker furthermore believed that the matter should have been dealt with by the League of Nations, which is also the opinion of France and Great Britain. The resolution of 1932 still exists and there is occasion to discuss the reorganization of the League, but we must not anticipate thereon now by a recognition. The initiative of the Netherlands Government has made an unfavorable impression from the point of view of national and international law. The injustice to Abyssinia certainly has not come under the Statute of Limitations, and speaker did not recognize the imperative necessity of having a Minister in Rome.

While the Government is now aiming at a recognition de facto what would still have to happen before there might be question of a recognition de jure? Why have we not, after 20 years, recognized Soviet Russia yet?

Finally the interpellator hoped that the Government would make no haste in cutting off contact with other nations, and that a possible solution will be found in cooperation with all States of the League of Nations which participated in sanctions and in the maintenance of the condemnation of Italy's act pronounced in October 1935.

Professor Anema (Anti Revolutionary Party) stated that, according to the Government, recognition de facto is a provisional and recognition de jure a definite recognition; but this causes much confusion. There is no doubt that under international law there is really the question of a recognition de jure. Does this mean an approval of former facts? No, the Netherlands only wants to maintain normal relations with Italy and therefore to consider the King of Italy as the present sovereign of Ethiopia. Whether this sovereignty has been lawfully acquired does not matter here.

Since the war the recognition-doctrine has been considerably altered. Think of the Stimson doctrine, of the declaration of the League of Nations in 1932. We have a network of legal and moral obligations, be it with many loopholes, and the matter has become ever more complicated. Every system of law has a way out to cover the case when an injustice must be accepted.

Speaker was however of the opinion that the Minister acted somewhat too rashly with regard to the annexation of Abyssinia and asked whether the moment had come already to consider the injustice committed as a closed matter?

A reserve will have to be made in any case with the recognition. In view of the many difficulties speaker would have preferred if the Netherlands had not taken the lead. The national interest is not preponderant. Legally and morally it is a very delicate question. Now that the Government has taken the initiative speaker urged the greatest caution.

Prof. de Savornin Lohman (Christian Historical) said that this recognition cannot be put on a par with that of Russia where Satan sits on the throne. Mr. Vorrink's opposition is not consistent for the Social Democrat Labor Party has from the first urged a recognition of the Soviet Government and the admission of Russia into the League of Nations.

Speaker called the distinction made by the Government between recognition de facto and recognition de jure rather subtle.

He also objected to the fact that the Government by its move puts our country somewhat too much to the fore and asked whether it would not have been much simpler if we had, without consulting the Oslo States, sent a Minister to Rome?

Prof. van Embden (Liberal Democrat) did not think the moment opportune. It is doubtful whether Italy dominates the whole of Abyssinia, and the condemnation by the League of Nations is still too recent. Italy is guilty of six breaches of promise and must we now crown all this by an imperial crown? We shall only irritate Great Britain and France, and the United States just as much. Minister Patijn's initiative also weakens the prestige of the League of Nations. What our Government is now preparing is really a recognition de jure, a moral sanction. Will our Minister in submitting his letters of credence make an explicit reserve with regard to the conquest? Of course not. The Government will cause detriment to the dignity, security and sense of law of our country. Speaker finally hoped that the Minister may discontinue his efforts and steps.

After the three professors had spoken, Mr. van Lanschot (Roman Catholic) wished to make only some simple remarks. Parliament should be very careful in judging the foreign policy of the Government. Public utterances are so easily misinterpreted.

The occupation of Abyssinia has become a reality, a fact the recognition of which does not imply a juridical or moral condemnation of what happened there.

Why should the restoration of normal relations with Italy not be in the interest of our country? The friends of the League of Nations should be careful and avoid the formation of an anti-fascist bloc.

Ideological controversies must not be aggravated.

Finally, speaker regretted the condemnable indiscretion shown in the publication of the Government plans. If this publication had not taken place Italy perhaps would not have left the League of Nations.

Mr. van Vessem (National Socialist) said that the sovereignty over Abyssinia is an accomplished fact which finally should be accepted. He thought it was strange that the Netherlands Government did not approach the Italian Government but the so-called Oslo States. These democratic countries form an ideological front north and west of a friendly neighbor state. These political ties with the marxist North may become a danger to the Netherlands. And why does our Government seek to approach Great Britain and France in the second place? Speaker was puzzled and wondered how the Netherlands came to mix itself up in the foreign policy of large Powers.

Why did not the Netherlands protest against the recent occupation of Arabia by Great Britain?

Will the Netherlands take steps in any case to recognize Italy's sovereignty over Abyssinia, even if Great Britain and France refuse to join?

Minister Patijn, in his reply, pointed out that for eight years we have been in contact with the Oslo States. The commercial agreement only forms part thereof. Vis-à-vis Italy the Government meant to confine itself to what the Netherlands wishes and to what is necessary, and that is the factual recognition. Explicit recognitions of occupations are hardly ever strictly required but in this case the Italian Government made a certain condition for accepting a Minister.

The sense of justice has nothing to do with it. While determining its attitude independently the Netherlands Government can just as well consult France and Great Britain.

Since the abrogation of sanctions the League of Nations is out of the question. We shall have to adjust ourselves to the new situation. He who refuses to do this runs the risk of causing accidents.

The question of Ministers only most recently has been a factor in favor of the Netherlands initiative. The primary intention was to contribute to some appeasement in the tension of international relations.

The Government does not disguise from itself the fact that there may be sentimental objections but finally it will have to be recognized that the intention of the Government will only serve the real interest of the country.

Mr. Vorrink, speaking for the third time, naturally was dissatisfied with what the Minister had said and disappointed with the course of the debate. He regretted that the action will not be discontinued, and hoped that the Minister would reconsider the arguments which he heard this afternoon.

Hereupon the interpellation was closed and the meeting adjourned until Wednesday morning at 11 o'elock.

## DOCUMENT FILE NOTE

SEE	765.942/2	FOR Tel. #536, 6 pm	; p= 제 시 중 에 대 제 중 한 자 p= 수 중 중
FROM	Italy	( Phillips ) DATED Dec. 30, 19	37
то		NAME 1—1137	600

#### **REGARDING:**

Agreement supplementing the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Italy and Japan signed Dec. 30, 1937, is proof that the countries which recognize the empire of Ethiopia will in their turn be allowed to trade there.

EG

GRAY

Rome

Dated December 30, 1937
Rec'd 2:43 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

My telegram 497, December 3 noon.

It is officially announced that an agreement supplementing the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Italy and Japan was signed here today. While the contents of this supplementary agreement are not divulged, apparently inspired comment published in this evening's papers state that the new agreement is proof that the countries which recognize the empire of Ethiopia will in their turn be allowed to trade there. From this it can safely be inferred that the agreement provides for extension of the existing treaty with Japan to include Ethiopia. We are asking the Foreign Office for a copy.

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PHILLIPS

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## DOCUMENT FILE NOTE

SEE760p.65/3	FOR Tel	. #3, 4pm
FROM Latvia	(Packer ) DATED	January 20, 1938

REGARDING: Recognition of Italy's Ethiopian conquest by Latvia.

Foreign Office informs that recognition is not being contemplated.

he

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

### DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

January 25, 1938



Finnish Attitude to Recognition of Italian Annexation of Ethiopia

Up to December 30 no reply had been published to a telegram received by President Kallio from Haile Selassie regarding the Netherlands' demarche.

There is no indication of any change in the Finnish attitude towards recognition of the Italian annexation as previously stated to Minister Schoenfeld by Foreign Minister Holsti, namely, that Finland would crobably follow the lead of the British and French Governments in this matter.

Eu: Cuming

# CHATTE

## LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 186 (Diplomatic)

Helsinki, December 30, 1937.

Subject: Annexation of Ethiopia by Italy. - Telegram from Haile Selassie to President Kallio of

Finland.

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The Honorable

The Secretary of State, Washington.

Sir:

Referring to my despatch no. 181 of December 22, 1937, in which reference was made to the reported inquiry by the Netherlands Government of the other socalled Oslo Convention States as to the expediency of asking the British and French Governments to indicate their policy regarding the recognition of the assumption by the King of Italy of the title of Emperor of Ethiopia, and the statement of the minister of Foreign Affairs that newspaper reports describing this inquiry were misleading,

I have the honor to inform the Department that the local press on December 29 published a translation of a telegram from London stated to have been addressed by the former Emperor of Abyssinia, Haile Selassie, to the heads of the governments of the Oslo States, including President Kallio, and to the following effect:

"I have learned with concern that the Oslo States, on the proposal of Holland, are about to grant de jure recognition of the Italian annexation of Abyssinia. Although the League of Nations was shown to be incapable of preventing the contemplated annexation, it has nevertheless been able, to the advantage of peace, to maintain the vital principle that the annexation shall not be recognized. The Abyssinian people definitely refuses to submit to the Italian power. In the name of my people I appeal to Your Excellency (Majesty) that your Government may stand fast on the traditional policy in defense of international right."

In view of the statement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to me, as reported in the despatch above mentioned, that Finland would probably follow the lead of the British and French Governments in this matter, it is assumed that any reply which may be made by the Finnish President to the telegram above quoted will be in conformity with this position. Thus far no such reply has been published here on the part of the Finnish Government, but the press this morning prints, perhaps as a precedent, the text of a telegram said to have been sent by the King of Norway to Emperor Haile Selassie indicating that the Norwegian Government has not changed its policy of non-recognition of the annexation.

Respectfully yours,

H. F. Arthur Schoenfel

500/700/710 HFAS/iel In quintuplicate to Department.



LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA The Hague, Netherlands, January 13, 1938.



SUBJECT:

PRESS REACTION TO NETHERLANDS INITIATIVE FOR FINDING SUITABLE MEANS OF ACCREDITING NEW ENVOYS TO ITALY.

> MID ONI





The Honorable

Washington.

JAN 28 1938

The Secretary of State.

MB9.

Sir:

Adverting to the Legation's despatch No. of December 29, 1937, I have the honor to report that the local press continues to give considerable prominence to news pertaining to Foreign Minister Patijn's initiative vis-à-vis the States of the Oslo group, and particularly in the last two days to the debate thereon which was held in the First Chamber on January 11 (see despatch No. 135 of January 12). Press comment has, however, not been very plentiful, having been limited ...

limited to four editorials - two in the VOORUIT, the Social Democratic organ, and one each in the liberal NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSCHE COURANT and ALGEMEEN HANDELSBLAD.

The first VOORUIT editorial, which appeared on January 10, last, was before the interpellation of Mr. Vorrink, the President of the Social Democratic Labor Party. This editorial looks forward to the interpellation which, in its opinion will give members of the First Chamber, and through them the public at large, an opportunity to express their views on an important international issue.

"We feel that this is of the utmost importance, because there is an increasing tendency to acquiesce with equanimity in all sorts of things which would formerly have caused a commotion but now are accepted more or less resignedly as we are living in an age rich in evil.

Such a mentality must be opposed by everybody who desires to promote a sound psychology among our people. It is a mental 'defaitisme', a paralysis which threatens to eat like a cancer into the sense of equity. The usurpation of Abyssinia, as a military act, has aroused the abhorence of the entire civilized world. It was, moreover, a serious transgression of international law, notably of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the maintenance of which is also the duty of the Netherlands. The arm of justice unfortunately was not strong enough to avert these crimes. The world will have to acquiesce in Italy's domination of Abyssinia for the time being. Minister Patijn feels that we should take a further step, and that it is proper for us to unchain an action among the Oslo States with a view to moving the civilized nations to bend their knees before the Imperial Crown that has been obtained in such a manner. The King of Norway has

already given an answer which is not very flattering to our country, and other Scandinavian countries also have shown signs of surprise. This sudden activity of our Department of Foreign Affairs, which usually is not too active, conflicts therefore very much with our international reputation as pioneers in the sphere of international law."

Continuing, VOORUIT expresses the belief that, irrespective of its legal aspects, Dr. Patijn's initiative in this matter is not an act of statesmanship that can be admired, and that he should take warning from the attitude shown by the British at Shanghai.

"There too", this paper continues,
"Japanese conquest is an undeniable fact.
The international settlement and the French
concession form an island in the territory
occupied by Japan. But it does not occur
to anybody to admit that this would imply
a change in the status of these settlements
or of their municipal councils. So we must
not undertake anything that brings about a
change in the status of Abyssinia. Recognition
of the Italian Empire is a first move toward
the expulsion of Abyssinia from the League
of Nations. It may be that the latter's resignation (from the League) will not prove
to be unavoidable."

In its second editorial (January 12) VOORUIT expresses satisfaction that the debate on January 11 in general, and Mr. Vorrink's interpellation in particular, have shown that the majority of Netherlanders are reluctant to give their moral support to Dr. Patijn's initiative.

The ALGEMEEN HANDELABLAD (January 12) in an editorial on the subject of Dr. Patijn's initiative, admits that the Netherlands is faced with a reality, and that respect for justice cannot demand the impossible.

"The reality of today and the sense of justice both must be taken into consideration",

continues this newspaper. "The question thus arises whether our Government has in fact examined the matter with adequate care. Minister Patijn who, as Minister in Rome, was in a position to study on the spot Italian reaction to sanctions imposed by the League of Nations, as well as to Netherlands participation therein, must have had good reasons for attaching great value to the possible dangers thereof. \*\*\* But we must take into consideration other factors as well, factors which are real. In this connection, the policy pursued by Great Britain comes to our mind, a policy which at the present moment does not consider a formal recognition. We do not desire to discuss the motives of Great Britain, or whether the British will accord recognition, either de jure or de facto, subject to political or other concessions on the part of Italy. It is too early to form an opinion in this matter. In any case, it is probable that a move, in which our Government has seemed willing to take the initiative, will not leave London indifferent."

This newspaper concludes by expressing the hope that:

"Our Government has carefully examined the political factors, although this has not been clearly shown by the debates. The report in the morning papers to the effect that the American Government has just suspended commercial negotiations with Italy, because it did not wish to recognize the King of Italy as Emperor of Abyssinia, can hardly strengthen our conviction that the Nether-lands Government did carefully examine these factors."

The report here referred to was carried briefly but prominently in all the morning press in the shape of Washington telegrams; there has as yet been no editorial comment thereon.

I enclose herewith the translation of an article from...

from the NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSCHE COURANT of January 10.

This article, which draws a parallel between the present case and the situation with respect to Italy in 1861, is of interest as showing that this is not the first time that a Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs has tried to draw a fine-spun distinction between the recognition of a title and the recognition of the territorial possessions described by such title. (See my despatch No. 109 of December 22, 1937).

george A. Gordon.

Respectfully yours,

Inclosure.

File No.701

In quintuplicate.
JWB/mm.

American Legation, The Hague, Netherlands, January 11, 1938.

### TRANSLATION.

NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSCHE COURANT Evening Edition, January 10, 1938.

Premising that the question of recognizing the King-dom of Italy in 1861 shows certain differences there was in many respects a striking similarity with the present question, such as the fact that now an originally independent state has been annexed which at that time was the case with a number of states.

During the period 1859-1861 the Kingdom of Sardinia succeeded in annexing a whole series of states which was completed by the annexation of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicilia and the Papal district of Umbria and the Marches in 1861. This caused much opposition on the part of the great powers, but after all they gradually recognized the Kingdom of Italy under Victor Emmanuel II and the NETHERLANDS was one of the last to do so. The Netherlands did this rather on the quiet, and all that was published about it was the withdrawal of the exequatur of the Consuls of those States that had been annexed. It was not even mentioned in the Speech from the Throne.

At the request of a Senator the Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that the King of the Netherlands had decided to recognize the title of Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy, but that this did not mean the recognition of the Kingdom of Italy.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RECOGNITION: - The writer is of the opinion that the questions then and now are as similar as two drops of water.

As regards the form of recognition the Minister then assured the Chamber that by recognizing the title we could avoid creating the impression that we approved the manner in which the Kingdom of Italy was created.

It was argued against this that such recognition really means nothing else than recognition of the fact of possession. The Minister had to admit that recognition of the title of King at the same time meant recognition of the Kingdom of Italy as it then had been created.

The writer concludes that reading the debates of 1861 shows the striking points of resemblance with what is going

on now or may come and that it may be useful for the Government and Parliament to read them.

The NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSCHE COURANT of September 28, 1861 wrote:

"By recognizing what happened and actually exists nothing is approved; neither the causes nor the consequences of the existing situation are taken into consideration."

Also in this respect it may be said that: l'histoire se répète.

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

PA-De Mi Define

January 25, 1938.

U - M. Willes

Summary of Despatch No. 125, from Embassy at Brussels, dated January 8, 1938.

Subject: Belgium and the Question of the Recognition of the Italian Occu-

pation of Abyssinia.

There are indications that the difficult question of the recognition of the Italian occupation of Abyssinia is becoming a pressing one and that the Belgian Government is actively occupied in seeking a solution thereof. In some quarters the fear is expressed that if the matter of recognition is further delayed the Duce may decide to withdraw nis Ambassador to Brussels in the same abrupt and unceremonious manner in which M. Cerruti was recently recalled from It is generally believed that the King and his Government (including even the Socialist members of the Cabinet) favor a de facto recognition. There is also a feeling that an indefinite prolongation of Belgium's present diplomatic relations with Italy might place her at a disadvantage in ner dealings with Italy. However, the

opposition is so strong that it is possible a precipitate decision in favor of recognition might provoke a Government crisis.

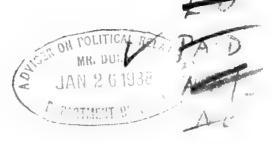
It appears that the unwelcome and unexpected publicity which was given to the Dutch demarche to the Oslo Powers in favor of de facto recognition was due to a leak in France. The Haagsche Post political correspondent in Paris is the French Socialist Deputy, Salomon Grumbach, whose position as Vice-President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber of Deputies during the Premieranip of Blum gave him access to the confidential reports on the subject submitted by French diplomatic representatives abroad. advantage of these reports, he had written an article which appeared in the <u>Haagsche</u> Post of December 18, 1937, revealing in considerable detail the earlier negotiations.

Note. The French Foreign Office is notorious for its leaks and this would appear to be nothing very exceptional.

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### 1938 JAN 21 AM 11 54

No. 125

LAMBACA OF Brussels, January 8, 1938.
AND RECORDS

Subject:

Belgium and the Question of the Recognition of the Italian Occu-

pation of Abyssinia.

DEPARTMENT OF TARE

DIVISION OF

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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NOTE SECTETARY OF STATE

JAN 28 1903

The honorable

The Secretary of State,

Tashington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's despatch 70/.5565/3
1. 108 of December 15, 1937, commenting on the present somewhat irregular state of Bel jian diplomatic representation in Ital, owing to this Jovernment's reluctance to appoint an Ambassador to nome.

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The Press has devoted considerable attention to the recent Dutch demarche to the Oslo Powers in favor of a de facto recognition; and in particular to the reply which Dr. Patyn, the Dutch Foreign Minister, is reported to have made to a Dutch Communist member of Parliament. Dr. Patyn is quoted as stating that the Dutch Government had asked the states adhering to the Oslo Convention whether they wished to make a joint demarche with the British and French Governments for a de facto recognition of the Italian occupation of Abyssinia; and that the Governments of all of these states had not as yet expressed their views. Also, that when the Oslo states were approached, Italy had not yet renounced her membership in the League of Lations, and the Dutch Government hoped that the recognition of the occupation of Abyssinia might induce Italy to return to Geneva. "

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The Belgian Government still finds itself in somewhat of a quandary as to the decision which it must adopt. Any positive step towards recognition which might have been taken in the past year appears to have been frustrated by incidents which served to complicate the situation. On January 8, 1937, M. Léon Degrelle, leader of the Rexist party, broadcasted a speech from an Italian wireless station, over the protest of the Belgian Foreign Office, thus giving the non-Rexist Press an opportunity for bitter criticism of "Italian interference" in Belgian internal affairs. Eurthermore, Belgium's strong stand in the past on sanctions has not helped to facilitate negotiations

between

the fear is expressed that if the matter of recognition is further delayed, the Duce may decide to withdraw his Ambassador to Brussels in the same abrupt and unceremonious manner in which M. Cerruti was recently recalled from Paris. Finally, Italy's sudden withdrawal from the League undoubtedly deprived the Belgian Government of an opportunity of joining in any proposal involving defacto

recognition in exchange for an Italian return to Geneva.

"It is generally believed that the King and his Gov-

ernment (including even the Socialist members of the Cabinet) favor a de facto recognition.

"There is also a feeling that an indefinite prolonga-

tion of Belgium's present diplomatic relations with Italy might place her at a disadvantage in her dealings with the latter country. Furthermore, there is a tendency to believe that the fiction of non-recognition is being imposed by France and England upon certain smaller countries in order to cover the loss of face resulting from the failure of the campaign of sanctions.

In so far as Belgium is concerned, the difficulty lies in the attitude of the Socialist party and in particular of its leader, M. Vandervelde, who continues strongly to oppose any suggestion towards recognition. The degree of opposition is, in fact, so strong that it is possible that any too precipitate decision in favor of recognition might, onder resent circumstances, even provoke a Government crisis.

I learn from a reliable source that in view of the unfavorable reception which Norway and Denmark are reported to have accorded to the Dutch initiative, the Belgian Government may be prepared to consider an approach to Sweden, where a Socialist-Democratic régime prevails and where the initiative of a proposal for recognition would probably meet with far less opposition than in countries where political opinions on the subject are so strongly divided.

It may be of interest to report in this general connection that according to the NATION BELGE of January 4, the preliminary negotiations undertaken with the Oslo Powers by the Dutch Foreign Minister appear to have met with some unwelcome and unexpected publicity. This paper reproduced a despatch from its Hague correspondent, dated January 3, to the effect that Dr. Patyn's earlier negotiations had been revealed to the Dutch public at considerable length in an article appearing in the HAAGSCHE POST of December 10, 1937, signed "Diplomaticus". The despatch states further that the MIEUWE ROTTERDAMSCHE COURANT of December 20, 1937, revealed that "Diplomaticus" was none other than M. Salomon Grymbach, a French Socialist Deputy, who, during M. Leon Blum's Premiership, was Vice-President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber of Deputies. M. drumbach, it appears, is also the political correspondent of the HAAUSCHE POST. His membership in the Cormission gave him access to confidential documents at the quai d'Orsay which included reports from French diplomatic representatives abroad. His contributions with regard to his country's foreign policy were consequently of unusual accuracy, and he did not hesitate to use this information in an attempt to frustrate Dr. Patyn's negotiations. The NATION BELGE concluded that M. Grumbach's activities have served greatly to complicate the question from the Belgian Government's point of view.

Respectfully yours,

qn.

SPT/VG

Copy to Embassy, Paris
Embassy, Rome
Legation, The Hague

### TELEGRAM RECEIVED

This telegram is confidential and must be closely paraphrased before being communicated from to anyone. (C)

Dated Jan. 22, 1938

Rec'd 2:47 p.m.

Secretary of State NR. MR. MR. WAN State NR. Washington STATE

53. Jan. 22. 2 p.m.

AN 2 5 1938

DIVISION OF N 3C1

One. A high official of the Foreign Office stated in

a conversation regarding possibilities Anglo-Italian rapprochement that he deplored the last opportunities last May a 'September at Geneva to settle entirely the/recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. This question of recognition, he stated, is the real stumbling lock to an Anglo-Italian rapprochement. Mussolini being sincerely of the opinion that Great Britain and France are delaying action in the hope that some event will transpire to snatch Abyssinia away from Italian possession. As long as Mussolini holds this erroneous view and recognition is not effected, the Foreign Office official says that it is virtually useless to attempt conversations with a view to a general Anglo-Italian settlement. For this reason British are quite prepared to recognize the fait accompli in Abyssinia, the discovery of a formula to offect this purpose without raising new diffi-Eulties is the matter now of anxious thought. The British particularly

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particularly wish to find a solution which will not arouse the suspicions or wound the susceptibilities of small European States who have followed the British and French lead at Geneva and who, if the question should be solved without regard to ideals and international obligations so loudly proclaimed during the course of the conflict, might feel that they had been badly let down. The present feeling apparently is that the simple act of recognition on the part of Great Britain alone would not be a real solution from the point of view of larger European issues and that they are studying and hoping to find solution through the machinery at Geneva.

500 5001

Two. Vith reference to possible reform of the League and the chances of the return of Germany and Italy, I gather that the British have in mind a development which envisages Italy and Germany being invited to join with other interested states in studying the possibilities of constructing a new League. In this way Germany and Italy would have an equal share with the other powers in formulating the basic principles of the new organization. The official considers it would be swiftest through concessions, to effect the return of Germany and Italy to the League in its present form. Just how far the study and consideration of this idea have gare he did not make clear but merely indicated their present general line of thought.

Central File: Decimal File 865D.01, Internal Affairs Of States, Italian East Africa, Government. Mandates, Recognition., June 12, 1937 - November 15, 1939. June 12, 1937 - November 15, 1939. MS European Colonialism in the Early 20th Century. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com%2Fapps%2Fdoc %2FSC5109729978%2FGDSC%3Fu%3Domni%26sid%3Dbookmark-GDSC. Accessed 18 June 2025.